SEATO RECORD

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- THE PROBLEM OF FOREST DESTRUCTION
- HILL TRIBES OF PAKISTAN
- SOME DILEMMAS OF COUNTER-INSURGENCY

SEATO RECORD

SEATO RECORD features significant events in South-East Asia, as well as activities of the Organization and its member nations. It reports statements which reflect attitudes or policies related to SEATO's role as a defensive organization.

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●

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COVER PICTURE:

A charming study of a Lahu-Sheleh girl from Northern Thailand. The headgear is not traditional—just a towel wrapped around the hair after it has been washed!—but it is worn in tribal style. The photograph was taken by F.G.B. Keen, a Research Fellow from New Zealand under the 1969-70 SEATO Fellowship Programme.

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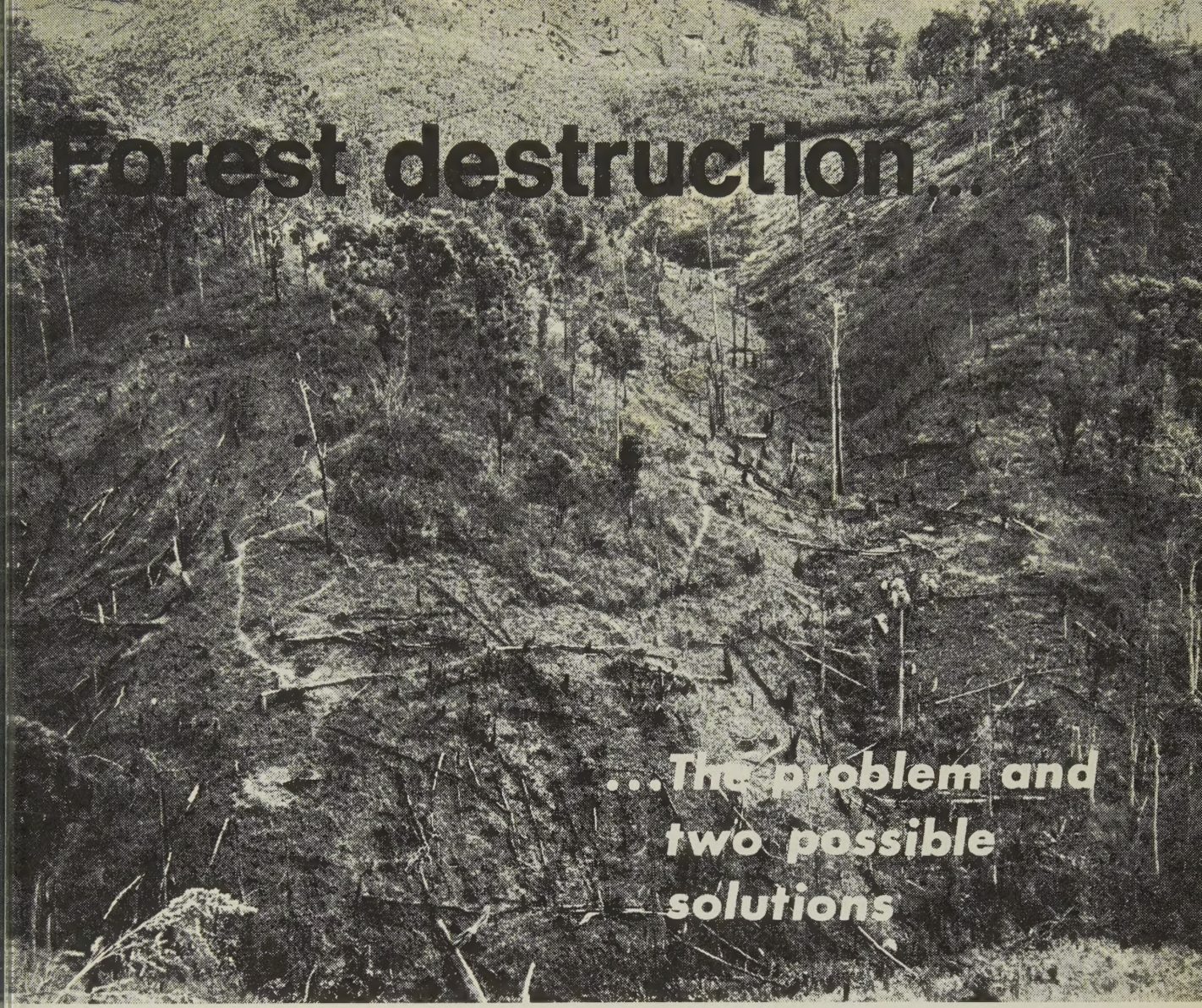


Forest destruction...

...The problem and two possible solutions

THE heavy concentration of smoke covering almost all of North Thailand in the latter half of the dry season should sound a note of warning to those interested in the future well-being of Thailand. In a recent journey from Chiang Mai to Mae Sai on the Burma border, via Chiang Rai, the smoke from forest fires never once rose above a ceiling of about 300ft. and in many places tree tops were partially obscured.

One frequently hears the statement that Thailand, especially North Thailand, has always burned in the dry season, and that therefore it cannot be a matter for concern. It is claimed that the onset of the wet season puts out the fires and stimulates rapid regrowth which restores the forest annually. There are at least two reasons why this complacent viewpoint is unjustified wherever it exists.

First of all population growth and physical expansion is spreading people, and therefore fires, further into the head-water areas of the main rivers. Destruction of forest around the small primary and secondary tributaries inevitably reduces the water retention capacity of the soil; the resulting rapid runoff fills the streams and rivers with silt which raises their beds, and with water which they cannot contain and

● **This article was written by F.G.B. Keen, a Research Fellow from New Zealand under the 1969-70 SEATO Fellowship Programme, whose project was "Research on the Man-Land Relationship of the Upland People of North Thailand." His Fellowship ended on April 7 when he returned to New Zealand.**

➡

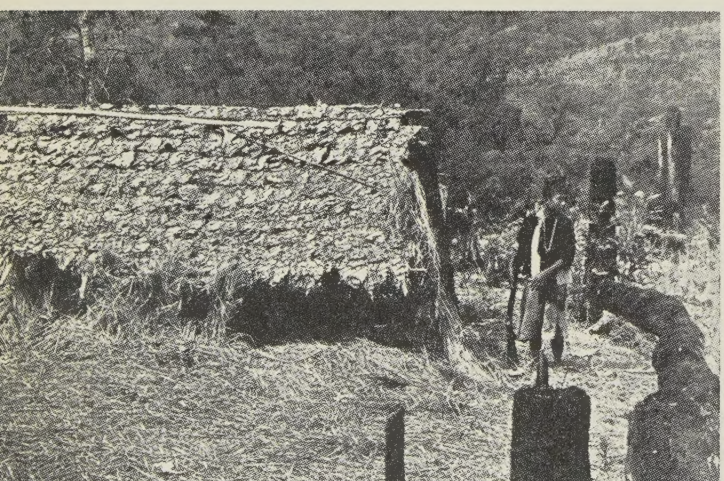
control. As has been demonstrated in many countries the surplus silt and water ultimately reaches a stage where it causes violent flooding and spoiling of agricultural land.

Thailand is peculiarly vulnerable to floods, especially around the canal regions near Bangkok, where a boat-trip up any of the densely settled canals provides convincing evidence that a rise in the water level of barely one metre would cause widespread misery, with loss of life and destruction of property.

A second matter of major importance is the loss of timber resources from the annual burn-up. The industries of this country from building and construction to rural crafts depend heavily on the timber from the forests, and here again the rapid increase in population bears significantly on timber needs. There are also the considerable timber exports to be reckoned when assessing the value of forests to Thailand.

The fires which annually sweep through the forested and partially forested areas perform a variety of functions. Most obviously they burn and destroy large useable forest trees which represent an immediate loss to industry as timber, or alternatively as a source of seeds for the future. Rather more subtly perhaps, they mutilate and check the growth of many trees which they do not completely destroy.

Almost without being noticed they are eliminating some of the most vulnerable species of trees and forest plants altogether, thus affecting the ecological balance of a forest, which in the course of natural development is an association of mutually supportive plants.



● *A Lisu field hut in a rice swidden used during planting, field guarding and harvesting operations.*

Worst of all, fires which may seem to have done little or no damage to existing trees as they have burnt their way lightly across the forest floor, have in reality destroyed the nursery of seedlings.

Important damage does not only occur in the forest itself. Large areas at higher levels have already been denuded of forest which has been replaced by tropical grasses, Imperata species being the most common. These form a suitable nursery environment for a regenerating forest, which will ultimately shade them out of existence. Unfortunately, these grass species burn very freely and inevitably carry dry-season fires which prevent the regrowth of trees.

Fires are caused in many different ways. They are lit to clear fields for slash and burn agriculture, to facilitate movement, to burn off grasses for grazing or to attract game animals, sometimes merely to see them burn. Field observations over the present burning season have indicated that the most serious destruction probably occurs *after* the purpose for which the fire was lit, has been achieved.

A proportion of fires is no doubt also caused by the careless cigarette or match thrown from a car, but these I believe to be of minor significance in comparison with those deliberately lit.

The lack of alternative cheap fuels places a heavy demand on the forests. Domestic charcoal uses an unknown amount, which must be quite considerable, however. Wood-burning locomotives also consume large quantities, as is evident from the piles of wood visible at railway sidings.

Research is needed to determine the amount of forest consumed annually by these industries, but more is known about a third large scale user of wood fuel, the tobacco industry.

Every time a tobacco kiln is loaded with leaf and lighted up to cure the tobacco, it consumes almost five cubic metres of wood. The tobacco curing stations of Chiang Mai consume slightly more than 120,000 cubic metres per season.[1] Sample measurement taken in the forests from which this timber was cut for one curing station in Chiang Mai Province, indicate that to obtain this amount, it is necessary to remove all the trees from the equivalent of 2400 rai (almost 1,000 acres) of land. In one area which was inspected, this was the system being used. ➡

● *Meo at their field hut prepare for the day's work.*

The contractors were simply cutting a block of forest and removing all the useable trees. This area consisted of small forest trees, none more than 30 centimetres in diameter with the average nearer 15. Haphazard burning was currently going on, and quite obviously had been in the past, so that the trees were stunted and there was very little undergrowth.

An interesting paradox in this situation was that the firewood for this tobacco curing station of more than 30 kilns, was being removed from land around the headwaters of the small river on which the farmers depended to irrigate their tobacco for supplying this same station.

In this area the limiting factor in green tobacco production is the water which is available for irrigation. Production has not increased in the last three seasons,[2] and the farmers are complaining of the water shortage. There is little point in trying to apportion blame for this situation. Firewood is being cut from its present source because it is the only economically available supply, and the industry, which supplies farmers with the opportunity to produce a valuable cash crop is to be commended and encouraged. The problem of forest destruction is a very real one, however.

Experiments with lignite are being carried out to try to reduce the consumption of wood, but the available lignite is of poor quality and so far, a process for converting it into a suitable fuel has not been found.

Another quite large consumer of forest fuel is the fermented tea industry in North Thailand. This traditional product, called MIANG by the Northern Thai people, is produced by picking the green tea leaves, wrapping them in bundles, called Kam, and steaming them over a wood fire. Afterwards they are fermented in sealed baskets and chewed as a refreshment.

1&2 Records, Thailand Tobacco Monopoly, Chiang Mai, by courtesy of the manager.

➡

FOREST DESTRUCTION

There is a widespread trade in this product in the north, and a great many upland Thai villages are mainly dependent on the industry for a living. In a sample area in Chiang Dao district of Chieng Mai Province, consisting of 32 upland villages, 27 of them are dependent on MIANG.

After taking field and timber measurements, and measuring the consumption of wood fuel against the total production of sample villages it was concluded that these 27 villages in one corner of one district consume annually the equivalent of 5,260 trees each having trunks 11 metres in length and not less than 50 centimetres in diameter. As these villages are mainly above the 800 metre contour, the cutting of such large numbers of mature seed-producing trees, without any replanting, must have its effect on the forest. In fact this has already happened in some villages, and firewood is being bought, and transported several kilometers by pack-cattle.

From these sample studies it can be seen that there are steady demands on the indigenous forest, apart from those for commercial timber supplies, which are more easily measured. They are perfectly legitimate, reasonable demands, based on the real needs of the people. Replanting rather than attempted prohibition would seem to be appropriate in the case of timber being used for fuels. It has the great virtue of being replaceable, unlike oil and coal, which are fossil fuels.

Research along the lines of seeking more efficient consumption, and quicker growing species, may be rewarding. Thailand is a country without substantial fossil fuel reserves as far as we know, and she could well make a research contribution in the better use of wood fuels.

As an answer to the problem of indiscriminate burning of forest, it seems most probable that a rigorous and sustained rural re-education programme would be more effective and cheaper than trying to police the remaining forests. It could begin in the schools with children and teachers participating in small scale, replanting schemes, which would be useful and of great propaganda value. People are less likely to destroy trees which they have helped to grow.

Such a programme would need to be pursued over a long period and with marked persistence, as the habit of burning forest is deeply ingrained and apparently almost universal, among the Northern people at any rate. In three provinces over a six months period in the field, I have seen almost no forest which has not been modified by fire.

There is, however, still one necessary reason for burning upland forest. As is widely recognised in the north, many people are wholly or partly dependent on slash and burn agriculture in the uplands. This is the practice of cutting down the trees in a defined area, burning them and planting a crop in the ashes.

After one or more seasons of use the field is left fallow for regrowth of forest, and a new one cut. That at any rate is the theory, but in practice most of the uplands of North Thailand which are being used for slash and burn agriculture have so far reverted to tropical grass growth so that fires spread from one field to another, and little if any regrowth occurs.

As the forest is the key factor in the soil regeneration which must take place if a fallow period is to be effective, this situation is no good for the cultivator. It is also bad for the country, as slash and burn agriculture is carried on in upland areas where forest cover is needed.

There are two possible solutions to the problem. One is to remove the cultivator, and the other is to control the fire so that it burns only what it is intended to burn. The first solution does not seem practicable or desirable. There are large numbers of people involved, and they are earning a living and growing crops on land which would otherwise not be used at present.

With controlled burning, there is no convincing evidence that the land is harmed by slash and burn systems, and yields in rice at least, are comparable with lowland figures. What is needed is a rational approach to, rather than a rejection of the system.

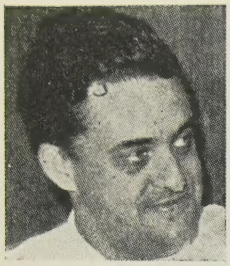
Firebreaks are easily cut with modern machines and more than usually effective in Thailand where winds seldom blow. It would not be difficult or expensive to co-ordinate the fields between firebreaks; in fact, a few of the most successful practitioners of slash and burn are already doing this.

Thus, the overall situation in regard to Thailand's Northern forests is perhaps difficult and certainly complex, but far from hopeless. An exhausted coal mine or an empty oil well is hopeless, but trees will grow again, very quickly in this sub-tropical climate; all they need is the opportunity, surely a hopeful position for man, who is so dependent on them.

ABOVE: The photograph shows where a new swidden has been cleared next to the old one. The forest-has not regrown.

●

LEFT: A group of Lisu women sit down for a chat after work.



AUSTRALIAN JOINS SEATO PROGRAMME

DR. Norman S. Snow (pictured above), Director of Technical Development, Australian Dairy Product Board, Melbourne, is one of the many Australian scholars, scientists and experts who has been granted research fellowships under the SEATO cultural and economic programme over the past ten years.

Dr. Snow has been in Thailand collecting data and information for his SEATO sponsored study on the effect of westernization and other cultural changes on food preferences and the marketing of new food products in this country. He spent some time in Australia before continuing his research in the Philippines from mid-May to the latter part of June.

OBSERVATION AND ANALYSIS

Dr. Snow was previously Senior Research Scientist with C.S.I.R.O. Dairy Research Division. He is a holder of a Master's Degree in Business Administration (Melbourne University) as well as a Doctorate in Protein Chemistry from Oxford University.

His study in Thailand and the Philippines, in line with this technological-administrative experience, has been planned as a blend of direct observation of the business environment and the factors affecting supply and demand, combined with an analysis of the nutritional needs of various segments of the population.

COMMUNITY Development experts Romulo Ventanilla (Philippines), left, and Pairat Decharin (Thailand), second from right, are pictured paying a courtesy call on SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas at the Organization's headquarters in Bangkok. On the right is Mr. A.B. Castro, SEATO Director of Community Development.

Mr. Ventanilla and Mr. Pairat are participants in the SEATO-sponsored Exchange Programme for Community Development Experts.

The experts have just arrived from the Philippines where they studied the Central Luzon Development Programme, the Philippine CD Programme and other related schemes. They will be going out to the field in Thailand to observe activities under the Accelerated Rural Development Programme and the Mobile Development Units Programme of the Royal Thai Government.

Mr. Pairat is Chief of the Community Education Division and concurrently Acting Chief of the Research and Evaluation Division, Community Development Department, Ministry of Interior of Thailand, while Mr. Ventanilla is the Regional Development Supervisor of the Sixth Region, Presidential Arm on Community Development of the Philippines.

AWARDED SEATO SCHOLARSHIPS

● Mr. Pong-ake Vallisuta, Assistant Instructor in Soil Science, Kasetsart University, and Miss Somjit Surapat, a graduate of Kasetsart University, have been awarded SEATO post-graduate scholarships to study for a Master's Degree at the University of the Philippines. They are pictured (left) being congratulated by SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas at SEATO Headquarters in Bangkok. Miss Somjit's field is food technology, while Mr. Pong-ake hopes to work for his Master's Degree in Soil Genesis.

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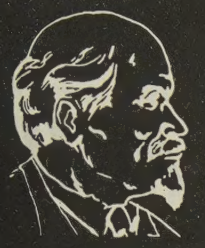


1970

A report to mark Lenin Centenary...

'TORTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION'

A report issued in April by Amnesty International describes the plight of thousands of prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union and the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. The report, published to mark the centenary of the birth of Lenin (April 22, 1870), tells of some prisoners being sent to psychiatric hospitals where they are tortured.

The publishers of the report declare that it "pinpoints the irony of the situation in which, 50 years after a revolution to set men free, thousands are in prison merely for their beliefs, or for holding views contrary to those held by the people in power."

Amnesty International notes the "tremendous improvement" in the flow of information about prisoners in the Soviet Union due to the circulation of "underground" literature there at the moment, especially of the so-called "Chronicle of Current Events."

The report pays particular attention to the great number of prisoners of conscience in the USSR who are confined to the special psychiatric hospitals.

"Often it seems that a decision to confine a patient to a mental hospital is taken merely to avoid the publicity a trial would attract among protest circles in the Soviet intelligentsia."

Conditions in the psychiatric hospitals are considerably more severe than those in jails and camps. The "patients" are subjected to physical torture by way of "treatment."

The report gives the names of several of these special institutions, which are controlled by the KGB, the Soviet secret police.

"All these institutions have the following features in common: Political prisoners, although of sound mind, are kept in the same cells as seriously disturbed patients with psychiatric illnesses.

"If they will not renounce their convictions, they are subjected to physical torture, on the pretext of treatment, to injections of large doses of 'aminazin' and 'sulfazin,' which cause depressive shock reaction and serious physical disorders.

"The régime is the same as for closed prisons, with one hour's exercise a day. Sometimes sodium aminate, a strong narcotic, is administered by injection to weaken the patient, and after injection he is interrogated."

In some of the institutions, both the sick patients and the political prisoners are the "victims of daily beatings and sadistic humiliations on the part of the supervisory personnel and the nurses, whose rights are absolutely unlimited."

Prisoners in special or strict-regime camps who felt they could not bear conditions sometimes tried to simulate madness. But when, if they succeeded, they got to a prison psychiatric hospital, they immediately realised that "it is far worse than the severest camps."

The report says that Amnesty has adopted some 250 Russian prisoners.

The report also deals briefly with other Communist countries.

East Germany: Amnesty has adopted 70 prisoners, most of whom tried to leave the country. The report states that large numbers of people were arrested in East Germany for protesting against the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia: Anybody who criticises the State, an official or another Communist country can be arrested.

Rumania: Conditions are reported to have improved somewhat, but Amnesty has still 30 adopted cases, some of them people arrested on charges of illegal religious activity.

Hungary: Fifty cases have been taken up by Amnesty. Among them are a number of people concivted on religious grounds.

Foreign Affairs

President Nixon announces more U.S. troops to be pulled out of Vietnam

'HANOI ALONE BLOCKS PATH TO A JUST PEACE'

> **"When men write the history of the nation they will record that no people in the annals of time made greater sacrifices in a more selfless cause than the American people sacrificed for the right of 18 million people in a faraway land to avoid the imposition of Communist rule against their will and for their right to determine their own future free of any outside interference."**
>
> **—President Nixon, April 20, 1970**

ANNOUNCING the withdrawal of 150,000 US troops from South Vietnam over the next year, President Nixon said in a television address to the American people on April 20 that the decision was based entirely on the progress of the Vietnamization programme.

He also said: "It is Hanoi and Hanoi alone, that stands today blocking the path to a just peace for the peoples of South-East Asia".

The following is the text of Mr. Nixon's address as released by the White House.

When I first outlined our programme last June, I stated that the rate of American withdrawals from Vietnam would depend on three criteria—progress in the training of the South Vietnamese, progress in the Paris negotiations, and the level of enemy activity.

Tonight I am pleased to report that progress in training and equipping South Vietnamese forces has substantially exceeded our original expectations last June.

Very significant advances have also been made in pacification. The percentage of the rural population in secure areas under the Government of South Vietnam has grown steadily while that under Vietcong control has dropped sharply.

Although we recognize that problems remain, these are encouraging trends.

However, I must report with regret that no progress has taken place on the negotiating front. The enemy still demands that we unilaterally and unconditionally withdraw all American forces, that in the process we overthrow the elected government of South Vietnam and that the United States accept a political settlement that would have the practical consequence of the forcible imposition of a Communist government upon the people of South Vietnam.

That would mean humiliation and defeat for the United States. As I have repeatedly stated, that we cannot and will not accept.

Let me now turn to the third criteria for troop withdrawals—the level of enemy activity. In several areas since December, that level has substantially increased.

In recent months Hanoi has sent thousands more of their soldiers to launch new offensives in neutral Laos in violation of the Geneva accords of 1962 to which they were signatories.

South of Laos, almost 40,000 Communist troops are now conducting overt aggression against Cambodia, a small neutralist country the Communists have used for years as a base for attack upon South Vietnam in violation of the Geneva accords of 1954 to which they were also signatories.

➡

'A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IS THE HEART OF THE MATTER'

This follows the consistent pattern of North Vietnamese aggression in Indochina. During the past eight years they have sent tens of thousands of troops into all three countries of the peninsula across every single common border.

Men and supplies continue to pour down the Ho Chi Minh trail; and in the past two weeks, the Communists have stepped up their attacks upon allied forces in South Vietnam.

However, despite this new enemy activity, there has been an overall decline in enemy force levels in South Vietnam since December. As the enemy force levels have declined and as the South Vietnamese have assumed more of the burden of battle, American casualties have declined.

In the first three months of 1970 the number of Americans killed in action dropped to the lowest first quarter level in five years.

In June, a year ago, when we began troop withdrawals, we did so on a "cut and try" basis—with no certainty the programme would be successful. In June we announced withdrawal of 25,000 American troops; in September an additional 35,000 and in December another 50,000. These withdrawals have now been completed and as of April 15 a total of 115,500 men have returned home from Vietnam.

'Cut and try'

We have now reached a point where we can confidently move from a period of "cut and try" to a longer-range programme for the replacement of Americans by South Vietnamese troops.

I am, therefore, tonight announcing plans for the withdrawal of an additional 150,000 American troops to be completed during the spring of next year. This will bring a total reduction of 265,500 men in our armed forces in Vietnam below the level that existed when we took office 15 months ago.

The timing and pace of these new withdrawals within the overall schedule will be determined by our best judgment of the current military and diplomatic situation. This far-reaching decision was made after consultation with our commanders in the field. It has the approval of the Government of South Vietnam.

Viewed against the enemy's escalation in Laos and Cambodia, and the stepped-up attacks this month in South Vietnam, it clearly involves some risks.

But I again remind the leaders of North Vietnam that while we are taking these risks for peace they will be taking grave risks should they attempt to use the occasion to jeopardize the security of our remaining forces in Vietnam by increased military action in Vietnam, in Cambodia or in Laos.

I repeat what I said on November 3 and on December 15. If I conclude that increased enemy action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Vietnam, I shall not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation.

The decision I have announced tonight to withdraw 150,000 more men over the next year is based entirely on the progress of our Vietnamization programme. There is a better, shorter path to peace—through negotiations. We shall withdraw more than 150,000 over the next year if we make progress on the negotiating front.

Had the other side responded positively at Paris to our offer of May 14 last year, most American and foreign troops could already have left South Vietnam.

It is Hanoi's intransigence that has forced us down the road of Vietnamization. We desire nothing more than the opportunity to withdraw all American forces and bring a just peace to Vietnam. A political settlement is the heart of the matter. It is what the fighting has been about in Indochina for 30 years.

We have noted with interest the recent statement by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Malik concerning a possible new Geneva conference on Indochina.

We do not yet know the full implications of this statement. It is in the spirit of the letters I wrote on April 7, to signatories of the 1962 Geneva accords urging consultations and observance of the accords. We have consistently said we are willing to explore any reasonable path to peace. We are in the process of exploring this one. But whatever the fate of this particular move we are ready for a settlement fair to everyone.

Let me briefly review the principles that govern our view of a just political settlement.

First, our overriding objective is a political solution that reflects the will of the South Vietnamese people and allows them to determine their future without outside interference. ➡

HANOI'S THREE BASIC ERRORS OF STRATEGY

I again reaffirm this government's acceptance of eventual, total withdrawal of American troops. In turn, we must see the permanent withdrawal of all North Vietnamese troops and be given reliable assurances they will not return.

Second, a fair political solution should reflect the existing relationship of political forces. We recognize the complexity of shaping machinery that would fairly apportion political power in South Vietnam. We are flexible; we have offered nothing on a take-it-or-leave-it basis.

Third, we will abide by the outcome of the political process agreed upon. President Thieu and I have repeatedly stated our willingness to accept the free decision of the South Vietnamese people. But, we will not agree to the arrogant demand that the elected leaders of the Government of Vietnam be overthrown before real negotiations can begin.

Let me briefly review the record of our efforts to end the war in Vietnam through negotiations.

We were told repeatedly in the past that our adversaries would negotiate seriously—

- if only we stopped the bombing of North Vietnam;
- if only we began withdrawing our forces from South Vietnam;
- if only we dealt with the National Liberation Front as one of the parties to the negotiations;
- if only we agreed in principle to remove all our forces from Vietnam.

We have taken all these steps.

The United States over a year and a half ago halted all bombing of North Vietnam. Long ago we agreed to negotiate with the National Liberation Front as one of the parties. We have already withdrawn 115.500 American troops. I have announced tonight a decision to reduce American force levels by a quarter of a million men from what they were fifteen months ago. We have offered repeatedly to withdraw all of our troops if the North Vietnamese would withdraw theirs. We have taken risks for peace that every fair and objective man can readily recognize.

Still there is no progress at the peace table.

It is Hanoi and Hanoi alone, that stands today blocking the path to a just peace for the peoples of South-East Asia...

The death of a single man in war whether he is an American, a South Vietnamese, Vietcong or North Vietnamese is a human tragedy. That is why we want to end this war and achieve a just peace. We call upon our adversaries to join us in working at the conference table toward that goal.

No presidential statement on Vietnam would be complete without an expression of our concern for the fate of the American prisoners of war.

The callous exploitation of the anxieties and anquish of the parents, the wives and children of those brave men, as negotiating pawns, is an unforgivable breach of the elementary rules of conduct between civilized nations. We shall continue to make every possible effort to get Hanoi to provide information on the whereabouts of all prisoners; to allow them to communicate with their families; to permit inspection of prisoners of war camps; and to provide for the early release of at least the sick and wounded.

Five years ago American combat troops were first sent to Vietnam. The war since that time has been the longest and one of the most costly and difficult conflicts in our history.

The decision I have announced tonight means that we finally have in sight the just peace we are seeking. We can now say with confidence that pacification is succeeding. We can say with confidence that the South Vietnamese can develop the capability for their own defence. We can say with confidence that all American combat forces can and will be withdrawn...

The enemy has failed to win the war in Vietnam because of three basic errors in their strategy.

- They thought they could win a military victory. They have failed to do so.
- They thought they could win politically in South Vietnam. They have failed to do so.
- They thought they could win politically in the United States. This proved to be their most fatal miscalculation.

Women and children die in Vietcong terror campaign

● **There is continuing evidence in South Vietnam that the Vietcong are under orders to use terrorism as a weapon against local government leaders and officials.**

DOCUMENTS recently captured in South Vietnam particularly a secret resolution passed by the military and political command, the Central Office for South Vietnam (COSVN), contain instructions which make it clear that Vietcong policy is to murder whole categories of local government officials.

The theme of the resolution was apparent in a commentary put out over the Communists' radio station "Liberation Radio" earlier this year. It referred to the Communist occupation of Hué in February, 1968, during which 3,000 civilians were massacred. "Wicked agents", it said, had "paid for their sins".

The resolution, passed at COSVN's Ninth Congress in July, 1969, assessed Vietcong prospects and gave orders for remedying weaknesses. It said: "We have annihilated or captured many security agents, tyrants and secret informers. But we have not annihilated many leaders of the... reactionary political organisations [e.g., all non-Communist political organisations] and we have not weakened the enemy's key forces".

In future, "security agencies must co-ordinate with the people's and political forces to... try to kill enemy ringleaders... especially those who work in... reactionary political organsiations, in order to weaken and break up enemy forces".

Primary targets for assassination appear to be hamlet and village chiefs and other local leaders. During 1969, according to official figures issued in Saigon, the Communists killed 6,000 hamlet chiefs, teachers, police officials, revolutionary development cadres and others, including many women and children.

This policy is to be continued, according to the COSVN resolution, which says: "We must carry out suppression that is appropriate to the target, appropriate to the crime, appropriate to the policies. We must resolutely punish the obstinate individuals".

The South Vietnamese Government's programme to pacify terrorist-occupied areas is also a major target. The resolution states: "We must annihilate the puppet forces that oppress the people, the cruel tyrants, the pacification personnel. We must co-ordinate these activities with military proselytising activities, to break up, bit by bit, the puppet local forces. At the same time, we must strongly attack the training centres and the officers' and non-commissioned officers' training schools".

This campaign is to be carried out by "operation teams" specialising in "armed propaganda, the killing of tyrants and the building of revolutionary bases".

Figures on terrorist incidents and casualties reached an all-time high last year. Government sources stated that the Vietcong instigated nearly 11,000 terrorist activities in 1969, killing and wounding nearly 22,000 civilians. In addition, the Communists abducted more than 6,000 civilians, conceivably hoping that those kidnapped could be forced to serve in the guerrilla units.

Despite heavy casualties among the civil population, the Vietcong terror campaign does not seem to have weakened the people's faith in the Saigon government. On the contrary, terrorism has focussed the people's attention on the ruthless tactics of the Vietcong and has strengthened their conviction that security and freedom are best attained within a democratic framework. The gains of the government's pacification programme partly reflect the people's distrust of Vietcong motives.

Mr. Gorton explains...

Why Australia is fighting to stop Hanoi's war

IN a major policy statement on Vietnam, Mr. John Gorton, the Australian Prime Minister, told the Australian Parliament on April 22 that his government believed that if small nations were to survive and prosper, then aggression from whatever source—whether inspired by Communism, Fascism, or nationalism—must not be allowed to succeed.

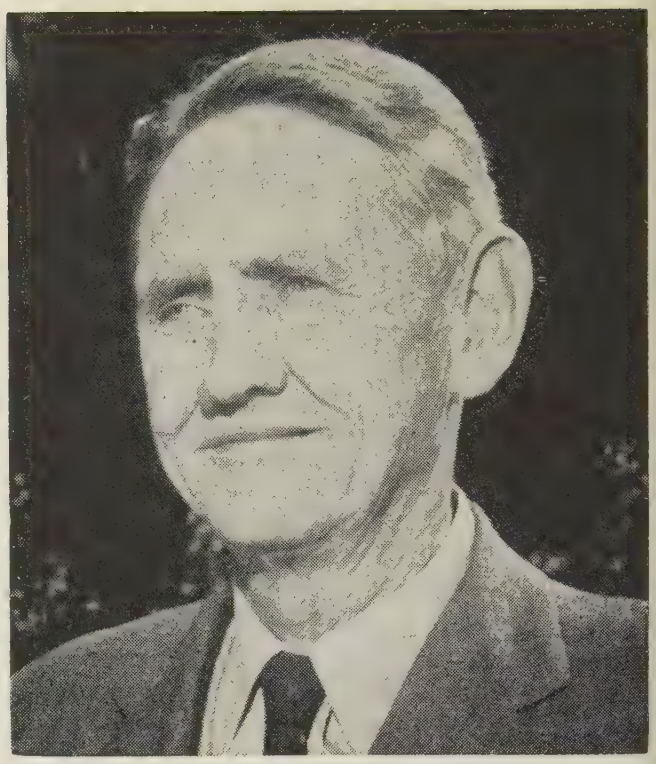
The following is part of his statement:

"Since 1965, Australian ground formations have been engaged with our allies in resisting armed attack on the government of South Vietnam. Since that time, the question of whether Australian forces should have helped resist that attack has been debated in Australia. This government, as previous governments, has approached this question in the spirit which was crystallised in one sentence by the Rt. Hon. Member for Melbourne (Mr. Calwell) when he was Leader of the Opposition.

That sentence is: "The overriding issue which this Parliament has to deal with at all times... must be judged by this one crucial test: What best promotes our national security, what best guarantees our national survival."

The government believes that judged on this standard, our engagement in Vietnam is right and that it does best promote our national security, and we believe that for these reasons: It is surely incontrovertible that in Vietnam aggression is taking place and is being resisted. It is surely incontrovertible that the war there is only being sustained because large numbers of troops from North Vietnam are constantly dispatched to invade and subjugate the South, and that if that troop flow stopped the war would stop.

Resistance to such aggression does best promote our national security, because we must strive to



● *Mr. John Gorton, Australia's Prime Minister.*

ensure that history is not repeated and that invasion and aggression is not allowed to be successful. For if it is successful, then the short span of history through which many of us in this Chamber have lived shows that once successful, it is repeated and repeated until it becomes insufferable and has to be stopped—but stopped at a cost in blood and treasure infinitely greater than would have been the case had it been stopped at its initiation.

Surely something of what happened in the last generation can be taken as experience by the present one.

We saw Fascist and Nazi aggression raging unchecked and subjecting one small country after another to conquest until it had to be stopped—at the cost of a world war—which need not have happened had the aggression been stopped at its beginning. I thought that these lessons, which, let us never forget, are of more import to small nations than to large, had been learned.

Some years after the close of World War II, resolute action was taken to resist and defeat subversion in Malaya, as it then was.

This took some 12 long years or more—years when civilians were murdered by terrorists—when bands of guerrillas with grenades and sten guns sought to

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GORTON ON VIETNAM

overthrow by force a government the people in Malaya wanted. Australians were there, with British and local forces, resisting that aggression. We were told then—and the words are strikingly familiar today—"Australians should not be in Malaya. The war will go on forever. It cannot be won." But it was won.

That aggression was not successful, and Australia's national security was best promoted because of that lack of success.

Then we saw aggression in Korea. We saw the people of the North sweep across the frontiers of the South in armed formations.

Because the prevention of aggression then was the basic concept of the United Nations, we saw United Nations forces moving to defeat that aggression. Australians were there.

And the aggression was defeated. And Australian national security was best promoted because it was defeated. We saw, and the principle is the same, Malaysia threatened during the confrontation and armed incursions into Malaysian territory. Australia helped to repel this aggression.

And our national interest was best served by this. And then we saw the pattern repeated in Vietnam. It is Communist aggression there as it was in Korea and Malaya, but the source of the aggression —significant though it may be—is not as significant as the fact that it was aggression. For the government believes that if small nations are to survive and prosper, then aggression from whatever source—whether it is inspired by Communism, Fascism or old fashioned nationalism—must not be allowed to succeed.

The one consistent thread of principle—that small nations are best rendered secure if other small nations are not allowed to be overrun—has distinguished our policy through the post—war years.

That is why we are in Vietnam—and that we should be there is a proposition supported by three of the significant political parties in Australia and opposed by one—the Labour Party.

I put it to the House that Australian security is bound up with seeing that aggression does not succeed. I put it to the House that it is immoral to launch aggression but not immoral to resist it. This is a proposition which has been twisted and turned inside out by those who cry that this is an immoral war.

So it is—but the immorality is in those who began it, who continue to invade, who will not negotiate for peace, who are bent on conquest and nothing but conquest. We have said that successful invasion of South Vietnam by the North would lead to further attempts at conquest in Laos, in Cambodia, and on the frontiers of Thailand.

This was scouted and denied by those in the ranks of the Opposition who support the case of the invaders.

But the history of recent days shows, I submit, how dangerously wrong they were.

Sir, I have thought it necessary to speak of this background in discussing the latest decisions on our participation in Vietnam.

It was and is right for us to help to stem aggression.

It was and is in our national interests—and that of all small nations—for aggression to be defeated.

It is in our interests to help to secure by negotiation peace with self-determination for the people of South Vietnam.

And in the meanwhile, while the invader will not negotiate, it is right to help resist him. Against this background, I speak to the House of the government's decision.

Following a review of the situation in Vietnam which led to the earlier United States decisions to reduce the level of its forces by 115,000 by the middle of this month, President Nixon yesterday announced his decision to introduce a new and long-range programme of United States troop reductions involving the withdrawal of 150,000 men over the next 12 months.

On December 16 last I announced the government's decision that when the military situation in Vietnam permitted a further substantial withdrawal of allied troops, then some Australian units would be included in the numbers scheduled for withdrawal.

Since then we have, with South Vietnam and the other allies, continued to keep developments and prospects in Vietnam under close study.

The Communist side maintains its intransigence and continues to set its face against a negotiated settlement. There is no progress to report as regards peace talks.

As the President has stated, there has been some overall decline in enemy force levels in South Vietnam in the last few months, though their actions in Laos and Cambodia must give us all cause for

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concern. The development that gives encouragement is the progress in what has been called "Vietnamisation"—the movement towards South Vietnamese self-reliance.

We see one result of this in the progressive reduction of allied forces, but it must be understood that Vietnamisation means much more than the assumption by South Vietnamese forces of a greater share of the combat burden.

Behind it lies a massive programme of expanding and modernising those forces.

And behind that again is the progressive assumption by South Vietnam of the responsibility for all aspects of the war—a war fought across the widest front, embracing a complexity of military, political, psychological, social and economic factors.

In all these areas much still remains to be done by South Vietnam, assisted by its allies across a wide civil and military spectrum.

Yet progress has been such that important qualitative changes are being made, and will continue to be made, in regard to the assistance required by and given to the government of South Vietnam in pursuit of the objective shared over the years by that government and its allies.

I reiterate that objective is to establish the circumstances in which South Vietnam can determine its own future without fear. There can be no thought of abandoning that objective by a precipitate withdrawal of allied forces.

But in continuing to give assistance to South Vietnam, our intention will be to take account of their own growing strength and to strike the most appropriate balance between an Australian military contribution and other forms of Australian assistance to Vietnam: We are mindful particularly that the process of "Vietnamisation" obtains no less in Phuoc Tuy Province than in other parts of Vietnam and that it is both desirable and feasible for Australia to undertake, as the circumstances permit, qualitative changes in the shape of our overall contribution towards the goal we seek.

Accordingly, I now announce to the House that after consultation in recent weeks with the Governments of Vietnam and the United States, who understand and accept our approach, the government has decided that one Australian infantry battalion and some supporting personnel will be withdrawn from South Vietnam.

This reduction to our force in Vietnam will be effected by withdrawing, without replacement, the 8th Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment, which at present is scheduled to complete its tour of duty in November next.

This will require a modification of the role at present played at our forces—a modification made feasible by the forces of Vietnamisation and national acceptance of responsibility by the Vietnamese themselves in Phuoc Tuy.

But let no-one say that because there is a modification of the role we play therefore we should play no role at all. Reducing our forces because the Vietnamese are able to assume more responsibility is one thing.

Totally removing our forces before the Vietnamese are able to accept full responsibility for replacing them is quite another.

The timing of the battalion's departure from Vietnam remains to be determined. It will be governed by general circumstances within the area in which Australian forces are operating and by the progress of Australian projects to assist the growth of greater capability in the South Vietnamese forces...

Whether or not the battalion's departure may be brought forward from the November date will depend on developments in these fields.

After the initial withdrawal, should the progress of pacification and Vietnamisation succeed as the President hopes and believes that it will, then at some stage during the 12-month period, we will consider phasing additional troops into the planned withdrawal...

Sir, I am glad to be able to tell the House and the people of Australia that the situation has been reached when withdrawal of some Australian forces can be made.

I would be yet happier when all Australian forces could be withdrawn provided that our object is in no way endangered.

And I believe that history will show that Australia in Vietnam was right, as she was right in the other instances of which I have spoken, not to stand idly by and refuse to lift a finger to help a small country attacked from without.

For whenever one small country loses its freedom let us not ask for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for all."

Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia under attack

AMERICAN troops, in co-operation with South Vietnamese forces, would launch attacks to clean out major Communist sanctuaries on the Cambodian-Vietnam border, President Nixon announced on April 30 in an address on the situation in South-East Asia.

The President said that in the past two weeks, North Vietnam had stripped away all pretense of respecting the sovereignty and neutrality of Cambodia. Part of his address follows—

"Ten days ago, in my report to the nation on Vietnam, I announced a decision to withdraw an additional 150,000 American troops over the next year. I said then I was making that decision despite our concern over increased enemy activity in Laos, in Cambodia, and in South Vietnam.

At that time, I warned that if I concluded that increased enemy activity in any of these areas endangered the lives of Americans remaining in Vietnam, I would not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation.

Despite that warning, North Vietnam has increased its military aggression in all three areas—particularly in Cambodia.

After full consultation with the National Security Council, Ambassador Bunker, General Abrams and my other advisers, I have concluded that the actions of the enemy in the last ten days clearly endanger the lives of Americans who are in Vietnam now and would constitute an unacceptable risk to those who will be there after our withdrawal of 150,000.

To protect our men who are in Vietnam and to guarantee the continued success of our withdrawal and Vietnamization programmes I have concluded the time has come for action.

Tonight, I shall describe the actions of the enemy, the actions I have ordered to deal with that situation, and the reasons for my decision.

Cambodia, a small country of seven million people, has been a neutral nation since the Geneva agreement of 1954—an agreement signed by the Government of North Vietnam. American policy since then has been to scrupulously respect the neutrality of the Cambodian people. We have maintained a skeleton diplomatic mission of fewer than 15 in Cambodia's capital since last August. For the previous four years—from 1965—1969, we did not have any diplomatic mission whatever. For the past five years, we have provided no military assistance and no economic assistance whatever to Cambodia.

North Vietnam, however, has not respected that neutrality.

For the past five years North Vietnam has occupied military sanctuaries all along the Cambodian frontier with South Vietnam. Some of these extend up to 20 miles into Cambodia. They are used for hit-and-run attacks on American and South Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam.

These Communist-occupied territories contain major base camps, training sites, logistics facilities, weapons and ammunition factories, air strips and prisoner of war compounds.

For five years, neither the United States nor South Vietnam moved against those enemy sanctuaries because we did not wish to violate the territory of a neutral nation. Even after the Vietnamese Communists began to expand these sanctuaries four weeks ago, we counselled patience to our South Vietnamese allies and imposed restraints on our commanders.

In contrast to our policy, the enemy in the past two weeks has stepped up his guerrilla actions and he is concentrating his main forces in the sanctuaries where they are building up to launch massive attacks on our forces and those of South Vietnam.

North Vietnam in the last two weeks has stripped away all pretense of respecting the sovereignty or neutrality of Cambodia. Thousands of their soldiers are invading the country from the sanctuaries; they are encircling the capital of Phnom Penh. Cambodia has sent out a call to the United States and a number of other nations for assistance. ➡

NIXON ON CAMBODIA

If this effort succeeds, Cambodia would become a vast enemy staging area and springboard for attacks on South Vietnam along 600 miles of frontier—and a refuge where enemy troops could return from combat without fear of retaliation.

North Vietnamese men and supplies could then be poured into that country, jeopardizing not only the lives of our own men but the people of South Vietnam as well.

Confronted with this situation, we have three options.

First, we can do nothing. The ultimate result of that course of action is clear. Unless we indulge in wishful thinking, the Americans remaining in Vietnam after our next withdrawal would be gravely threatened.

Our second option is to provide massive military assistance to Cambodia. Unfortunately, while we deeply sympathize with the plight of seven million Cambodians whose country is being invaded, massive amounts of military assistance could not be rapidly and effectively utilized by the small Cambodian army against the immediate threat. With other nations, we shall do our best to provide the small arms and other equipment which the Cambodian army needs and can use now for its defence. The aid we will provide will be limited to the purpose of enabling Cambodia to defend its neutrality—not for the purpose of making it an active belligerent on one side or the other.

Our third choice is to go to the heart of the trouble. That means cleaning out major North Vietnamese and Vietcong occupied sanctuaries which serve as bases for attacks on both Cambodia and American and South Vietnamese forces in south Vietnam. Some of these are as close to Saigon as Baltimore is to Washington.

This is my decision:

In co-operation with the armed forces of South Vietnam, attacks are being launched this week to clean out major enemy sanctuaries on the Cambodian-Vietnam border.

A major responsibility for the ground operations is being assumed by South Vietnamese forces. For example, the attacks in several areas including the Parrot's Beak are exclusively South Vietnamese ground operations under South Vietnamese command with the United States providing air and logistical support.

There is one area, however, where I have concluded that a combined American and South Vietnamese operation is necessary. Tonight, American and South Vietnamese units will attack the headquarters for the entire Communist military operation in South Vietnam. This key control centre has been occupied by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong for years in blatant violation of Cambodia's neutrality.

This is not an invasion of Cambodia. The areas in which these attacks will be launched are completely occupied and controlled by North Vietnamese forces. Our purpose is not to occupy the areas. Once enemy forces are driven out of these sanctuaries and their military supplies destroyed, we will withdraw.

These actions are in no way directed at the security interests of any nation. Any government that chooses to use these actions as a pretext for harming relations with the United States will be doing so on its own responsibility and at its own initiative and we will draw the appropriate conclusions.

A majority of the American people are for the withdrawal of our forces from Vietnam. The action I have taken tonight is indispensable for the continuing success of that withdrawal programme.

A majority of the American people want to end this war rather than have it drag on interminably. The action I take tonight will serve that purpose.

A majority of the American people want to keep the casualties of our brave men in Vietnam at an absolute minimum. The action I take tonight is essential if we are to accomplish that goal.

We take this action not for the purpose of expanding the war into Cambodia but for the purpose of ending the war in Vietnam and winning the just peace we all desire. We have made and will continue to make every possible effort to end this war through negotiation at the conference table rather than through more fighting on the battlefield...

Tonight, I again warn the North Vietnamese that if they continue to escalate the fighting when the United States is withdrawing its forces I shall meet my responsibility as Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces to take the action I consider necessary to defend the security of our American men.

This action puts the leaders of North Vietnam on notice that we will be patient in working for peace, we will be conciliatory at the conference table, but, we will not be humiliated. We will not be defeated. We will not allow American men by the thousands to be killed by an enemy from privileged sanctuaries..."

Gen. Vargas applauds U.S. decision

SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas on May 4 welcomed President Nixon's decision to send American troops into Cambodia. "If the United States had held back its punches very much longer, it may well have meant the irreversible forfeiture of all prospects of victory against the Communists not only in South Vietnam but also Cambodia and Laos," said General Vargas.

The Secretary-General—who was addressing diplomats' wives at the Organization's headquarters —said that the decision to send U.S. troops into Cambodia, "to destroy theretofore untouchable Communist installations which have hamstrung allied progress in the Vietnam War", would go down in history as among the most controversial made by any American President.

President Nixon's action represented a timely and well-advised fulfilment of a clear military exigency, "the need to satisfy and the true importance of which, only President Nixon, with all the attendant facts in his hands and from the vantage point he occupies, can truly adjudge."

Those who had questioned the propriety and the usefulness of the latest American action in Cambodia had been quick to point out that the new allied offensive had considerably prejudiced the chances of peace being restored to South-East Asia. "I think otherwise," said General Vargas.

Free Asians and their American allies in South-East Asia knew war more than any other group of people, and abhorred war—and the suffering, the loss of human life, the pillage and the pain that went with it—as no other people elsewhere in the world did.

"They have, therefore, invariably welcomed every initiative in the direction of peace, and have, to the extent permitted by their limited resources and capacities, keenly and earnestly participated in such quests for peace.

"It is axiomatic that for one's interests to be ensured in any serious quest for peace, such as the projected Asian Front talks scheduled to be held in Indonesia shortly, one must be able to talk and negotiate from a position of strength. It is also unmistakably clear that the Communists have misinterpreted the recent decisions of the United States to withdraw some of its forces from Vietnam, and the series of allied concessions aimed at enticing them to assume a less intransigent attitude, as signs of allied weakness", said the SEATO Secretary-General.

Viewed in this context, therefore, the new vigorous allied action in Cambodia strengthened the position of the allies in the whole of Indochina and improved their leverage in the search for a negotiated peace.

"We all know that the major Communist countries, without exception, have summarily rejected Foreign Minister Malik's invitation to participate in the Asian Front talks. It was only to be expected, therefore, that the talks would partake of a consultative conference among certain Free World countries and interested neutrals, who could at best only attempt to pressurize the Communists, possibly by resolutions, into stopping their aggression in the Indochinese Peninsula.

"It stands to reason that an improved allied military position in the Peninsula would operate to strengthen the magnitude and the impact of that pressure and, therefore, to increase the chances of peace finally coming back to this part of the world," said General Vargas.

The Asian Crucible and Collective Security

IF the Cambodian challenge to the Communists succeeded, it might well mean the beginning of the end of North Vietnam's whole strategy in the Peninsula, SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas told the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Thailand in Bangkok on April 29.

Addressing the correspondents on "The Asian Crucible and Collective Security", Gen. Vargas said that it was not likely that North Vietnam could fight effectively in three countries simultaneously.

"It cannot, at the same time, continue a losing war in the South, where the effectiveness of Vietnamization has surpassed all expectations, face a hostile regime in Cambodia and bear the brunt in Laos of American air power which is supported on the ground by regular Laotian forces and hill tribesmen," said the General.

THE ASIAN CRUCIBLE

If the crises that had occurred in the former Indochinese peninsula over the past many years had been intractable and the prospects of peace uncertain, the problems of Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam had given rise to a number of definitive postulates relative to collective defence in general and to regional security in particular. General Vargas referred to the following:

"**1.** The concept, normally imperative from a military point of view, that an attack on one country should be generally considered by the allies of that one country as an attack on them as well, and its corollary, the theory of instantaneous retaliation, have now lost much of their currency. A free Asian country in league with other free countries, must develop sufficient military strength to be able at least to hold an aggressor at bay over a protracted period, long enough to permit her allies to take a decision in accordance with their established processes and come to her succour. That decision, to include the shape and the extent of assistance to be rendered, would depend almost solely on the determination by a given country of what is central and what is peripheral to its national interests. On top of that, Big Power armed forces will now have to be brought to the area of conflict from greater distances.

"**2.** The massive power of strong and affluent allies is of marginal moment unless it can be deployed where the political and physical terrain enables those allies to utilize their power effectively. Otherwise, such power would only be wasted in indecisive and debilitating unorthodox military operations.

"**3.** There being no free world Asian military power at present, it is not possible to establish an all-Asian security alliance as such. This is unperstandable: only those nations whose interests and power are worldwide have the capacity to think and act in global terms. Consequently, it is not really possible at present for any free Asian country or group of Asian countries to take over the role in Asia of any recognized world military power, such as the United States.

"**4.** Given the threats to peace we have seen in Asia during the past two decades and the present-day trends towards a reduction in presence and involvement in Asia of Big Power allies, free Asians must take over an ever-increasing burden of the responsibility for their own defence and development.

"**5.** There being no Asian country today with adequate deployable resources, any broadly based arrangement for defence among free Asian countries, to include the economically mighty Japan, can only take the shape of a little more than a loose-knit working agreement in which each undertakes primarily to take care of her own home front.

"**6.** Since resources channelled by developing countries towards defence purposes are resources removed from programmes for development, even broadly based regional co-operation in the security field will come somewhat more slowly and with greater difficulty than in the economic and political fields.

"**7.** Although Japan has indicated a willingness to participate in an international peace maintenance force that may emerge from the present situation in South-East Asia, she is not likely to play a direct role in regional security co-operation for some time to come. For the present, observing that security in the area depends not only on military power but also on the political, social and economic health of the countries of the region, Japan's most effective contribution should be to continue to offer increasing economic co-operation with the other nations of Asia and to take care of the local and conventional defence of its territory, including Okinawa after reversion.

"**8.** The same period of turmoil in South-East Asia in the recent past has seen the military withdrawal, either total or partial, of the Big Powers who, nevertheless, have reiterated their respective pledges to abide by their treaty commitments.

> **"9. —Apart from the bilateral arrangements between the individual Big Powers and certain free Asian countries, and possibly the ANZUS Treaty, the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty remains the only pact under which the Big Powers are committed to, as against simply involved in, the defence of the region."**

Gen. Vargas concluded: "From the foregoing postulates, one will easily recognize that the prolonged crises in South-East Asia have brought into bold relief a number of hard but heretofore little-appreciated facts concerning the security of this part of the world.

"They have also served to crystallize the thinking of both the free Asian nations and their Western allies on their respective responsibilities *vis-a-vis* the defence of Asia. They have, to some degree, altered both the concept and the practical application of collective security pacts and treaties."

CAMBODIA ROUND-UP

Reactivation of ICC sought by 'Asian Front'

THE Asian and Pacific conference on Cambodia ended in Jakarta on May 17 with the member nations calling for international action to halt the fighting.

The conference agreed to send a special commission of foreign ministers to Geneva to seek reactivation of the International Control Commission (ICC) in Cambodia, and called for withdrawal of all foreign troops.

A joint communique issued after a two-day meeting of the nations said Indonesia, Japan and Malaysia had been chosen to approach the joint chairmen of the Geneva Accords, Britain and the Soviet Union, and put before them the feelings of the conference.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik, chairman of the conference, was empowered to convey the joint communique to United Nations Secretary-General U Thant and ask the Security Council to take whatever action possible to help solve the crisis.

Mr. Malik said after the conference that the three foreign ministers would probably send delegates to discuss United Nations action and the convening of a new Geneva Conference.

The mission would leave as soon as possible.

"I still believe strongly that the solution to the conflict and the restoration of peace to this part of Asia reside in the Geneva agreements of 1954 and 1962 and that the only means of returning to these agreements is for all parties concerned to undertake urgent negotiations, whatever their form...

"In my view, therefore, an international gathering... to cope with the old war in South Vietnam and the new war in Cambodia, is an indispensable step of the utmost urgency. All who seek peace and justice should support such a move".

—United Nations Secretary General U Thant, May, 5, 1970.

KHMER-THAI LINKS ARE RESUMED

DIPLOMATIC relations between Thailand and Cambodia were formally normalised on May 13 with the signing of a joint communique in Bangkok by Thailand's Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman and Cambodian Foreign Minister Yem Sambaur.

The communique stated that in reviewing the relations existing between Thailand and Cambodia, the two Ministers agreed on the necessity of improving the relations between the two countries, which should rest on the secure bases of confidence, friendship and fraternity.

The Ministers re-affirmed their strict adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and reiterated their respect for the present common borders of the two countries.

Diplomatic representatives of the two countries would be exchanged in the immediate future.

Allied operation has 'paid off'

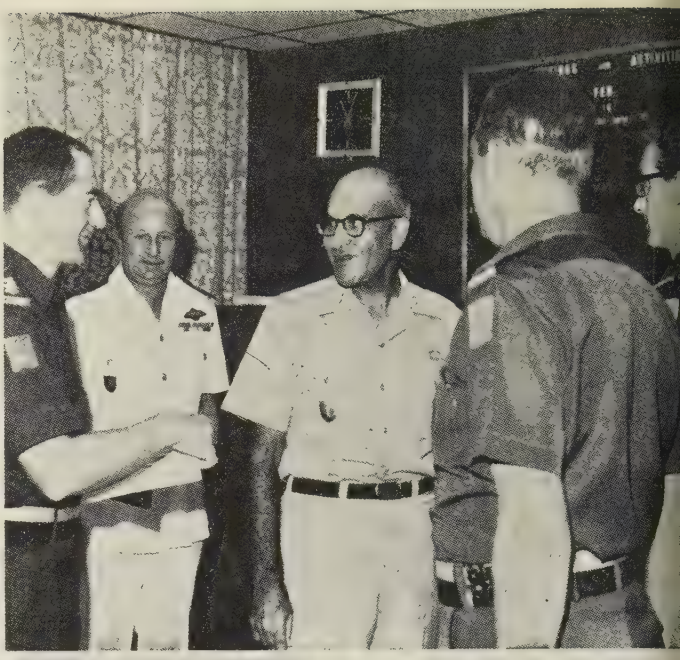
SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas said in Bangkok on May 14 that given all the odds under which the U.S.—South Vietnamese Cambodian operations were launched and were still being undertaken, "they were decidedly well worth the risks and have in fact already paid off reasonably in military terms and in a number of salutary side-effects".

The General—who was addressing the Defence Orientation Conference Association in Bangkok—emphasised that he was not advocating a military solution to the problems of the former Indochinese States. Because the problems were fundamentally political in character, their solution must of necessity be a predominantly political one.

There was no saying to what extent the allied operations in Cambodia had strengthened the position of the allies in Indochina, "but I should not be surprised if the Cambodian operations brought the Communists back to the conference table to negotiate more seriously," said Gen. Vargas.

DEFENCE

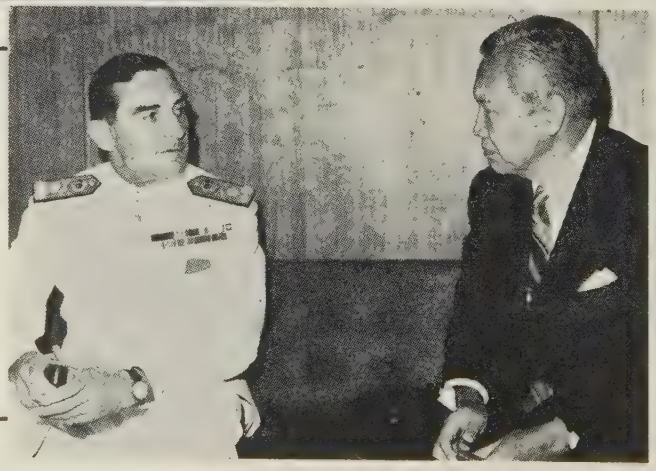
● No. 649 Signal Troop has relinquished its task of manning the SEATO end of the Commonwealth Signal link at the SEATO Military Planning Office in Bangkok. In the picture right, Captain K.G. Doyle (left), Commanding Officer, receives a commemorative SEATO Plaque from the Chief of the Military Planning Office (Major General Autrey J. Maroun, centre) shortly before the troop left Thailand. Second from the left is the United Kingdom Military Adviser's Representative at SEATO Headquarters (Captain R.E. Wilson, RN). Others in the photograph (from left to right) are: Sergeant Major A. Gundersen and Sergeant M. Harrison. The SEATO Commonwealth link is now manned by a small detachment from 18th Signal Regiment.



LEFT: Thirty-one students from the United States National War College at Fort McNair, Washington, DC, visited SEATO Headquarters in April, for briefings and discussions with SEATO officials. Here Lieutenant General John Kelly (right), Commandant of the College, sits alongside SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas and Major General Autrey J. Maroun, Chief of the Military Planning Office during the question-and-answer session.

ADMIRAL'S FAREWELL

● Admiral Sir Peter Hill-Norton, Commander-in-Chief, Far East, and the United Kingdom Military Adviser to the South-East Asia Treaty Organization since March, 1969, is pictured with SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas during his farewell visit to the organization's headquarters at the end of April. Sir Peter will become First Sea Lord in May.



School's vital role in the fight against Communism

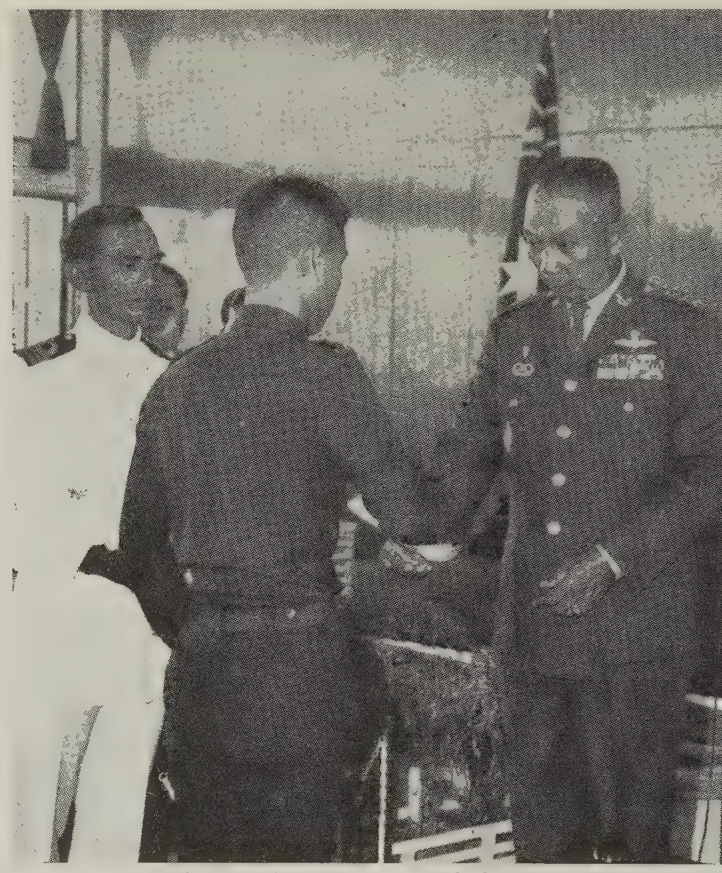
AS an addition to Thailand's skilled labour pool and to the skilled labour potential of free Asia as a whole, the technically-trained men of the Military Technical Training School were an added vital and enduring guarantee against Communism flourishing in South-East Asia, the SEATO Secretary-General, Lieut. Gen. Jesus Vargas, said at the school's recent graduation ceremony in Bangkok.

General Vargas said that in both concept and application, the instruction offered at the school—which is a joint Australian-Thai project under SEATO—was as timely as it was timeless.

The school was among SEATO's more successful ventures. As an example of collaboration within the SEATO framework in the vital field of skilled labour and manpower training, its value was at once recognized and its impact unfailingly felt.

The need for trained manpower resources, he said, increased in direct proportion to the expansion and modernization of a country's armed forces; it varied in direct ratio as well with the degree of social, cultural and industrial progress of a nation. "And considering that a skilled and progressive people is, as a general rule, more impervious to the importunings and the machinations of the Communists, the annual output of this school of technically-trained men is a distinct and steady contribution to the people's capacity more effectively to carry out their share of the burden in the continual struggle against the enemies of our free way of life," said General Vargas.

In a world in which free Asians had suddenly been called upon to participate more actively and more fully in their own defence and development, in a spirit



● *Student Vichai Muangna, of the Electrical Fitting section of the MTTS, receives his graduation certificate from General Thanom Pattamananda, Thailand's Deputy Chief of Staff, Supreme Command, who presided over the school's graduation ceremony.*

of increasing self-reliance as against predominant reliance on the might and the resources of big power allies, the role of the MTTS assumed a significant new dimension.

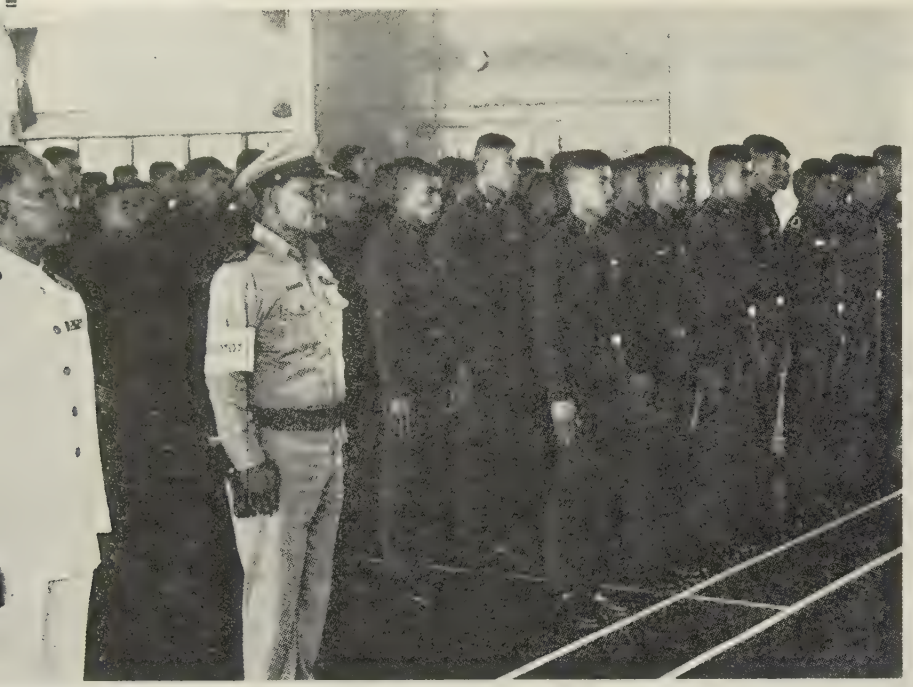
Clearly, the Asian's Western allies had tended in recent years to look towards the home front and, in some cases, had taken steps to reduce their involvement in Asia, both developmental and military. The crux of the problem was that not all developing countries had attained the capacity to cope with problems of security and of development simultaneously.

"In fact, for most of them, any expenditure for defence is a detraction from funds available for

Continued on Page 26

Photo-Feature on MTTS: Pages 24-25

SMARTNESS AND PROFICIENCY AT THE MTTS

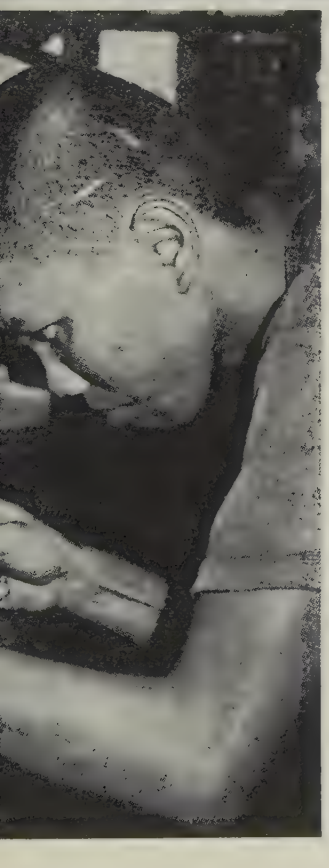


Immaculately turned out for the big occasion, graduates of the Military Technical Training School, Bangkok, under the school's Deputy Commandant, Captain Snit Fuangrabil, RTN (picture left), impressed the audience of high-ranking military men and diplomatic and government officials at the recent MTTS graduation day ceremonies.

But before they graduated, there was much hard work for the young students. The photographs on these pages show them learning the skills of the trades taught at the school, which is a joint Australian-Thai project under SEATO.

PHOTO – FEATURE

Above: Students on the machine tool course learn all about the engine lathe.



Above: An MTTS student on metal surfacing and grinding in the machining course.

Left: Concentration on the job in hand by this student on the machine tool course.

Right: A student rewires the starter of an electric motor in the electrical fitting course.

ABOVE: MTTS students Mana Taptong (left) and Ampom Sang-Chum inspect some of the tools from the tool kits they received as prizes for being top graduates. RIGHT: MTTS Commandant, Air-Vice Marshal Chamrat Veenakupta, giving his annual report.

MTTS Graduation Day

development. Yet, it is axiomatic that development is possible only behind an adequate shield of defence. In the circumstances, I can only conclude that the importance, to this country and to the region, of this school and of similar projects designed to train young men in essential skills will increase in the years to come," said General Vargas.

General Thanom Pattamananda, Thailand's Deputy Chief of Staff, Supreme Command, who presided over the graduation ceremony, presented certificates to 71 graduates from the eighth apprentice training course.

"I am sure the school will continue to be prosperous and can supply the Armed Forces and the nation as a whole with qualified skilled tradesmen," he said.

The school's Commandant, Air-Vice Marshal Chamrat Veenakupta, said that of the 71 graduates, four had obtained excellent grade, three distinctions, 15 credits and 49 passes.

Since its inception in 1960, the school had admitted 10 intakes of students, totalling 758, of whom 544 had now graduated; 140 in electrical fitting, 122 in machining, 167 in general fitting and 115 in metalsmithing.

All of this year's graduates would go to the Armed Services and other military establishments.

During the past academic year, increased Australian assistance had resulted in the provision of training in Australia for Thai instructors for one year. Four assistant instructors in various trades were benifiting under this programme and another four scholarships had been approved for the next academic year.

Air-Vice Marshal Chamrat said that plans for setting up two more trades were also being implemented, namely in plumbing and motor mechanics.

Mr. C.R. Ashwin, Counsellor at the Australian Embassy in Bangkok, congratulated the graduates and presented special tool kits to those who had qualified with distinctions.

Changes in Military Planning Office

Maroun for the Pentagon

MAJOR General Autrey J. Maroun (United States), Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office since July 1, 1968, will return to the United States on June 30 for reassignment at the end of his tour of duty.

Until the arrival of a new Chief, Brigadier General Felix T. Pestana, Philippines Air Force, who is the Deputy Chief, will direct the work of the Military Planning Office.

General Maroun is the seventh Chief of the Military Planning Office, and the first American to hold the appointment. His new assignment is with the United States Army General Staff in the Pentagon, Washington.

HIGHEST NON-COMBAT DECORATION

Before becoming Chief Military Planning Office, General Maroun served for two years as the Deputy Assistant, Secretary of Defence (Reserved Affairs), Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defence (Manpower).

From 1964-66, he was Commanding General, 5th Infantry Division at Fort Carson, Colorado, for which he received the highest non-combat decoration —the Distinguished Service Medal.

American is new Head of Plans

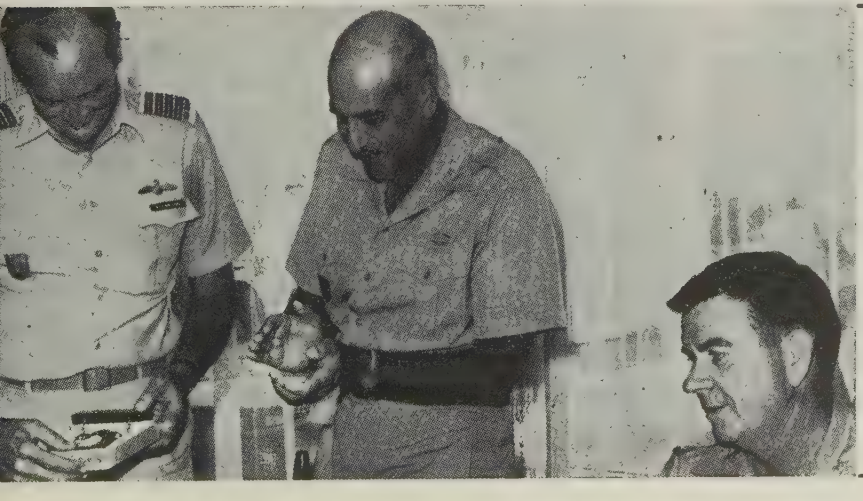
FOR the past two years Head of Plans in the SEATO Military Planning office, Group Captain A.L. Parlane (New Zealand) was recently succeeded by Colonel Ronald Fraser, United States Army. Group Captain Parlane will be reassigned for duty on his return home.

As Head of Plans, Group Captain Parlane has been responsible for the detailed development of the SEATO defensive plans which are designed to enable SEATO member nations to react quickly and effectively to Communist aggression in the Treaty area.

This was Group Captain Parlane's second tour of duty with the SEATO Military Planning office.

The Group Captain makes no secret of his belief in the worth of SEATO. "There is no doubt in my mind that it is SEATO that keeps overt Communist aggression in South-East Asia at bay," he said. "Also it is not only through the deterrent capacity of our military preparedness that SEATO is helping the region. Behind the military shield, the regional member nations and other free Asian nations have been able to press on with the primary task of improving the conditions under which the people live."

Group Captain Parlane said that the military planning of SEATO had never been better. He puts this down to the close understanding that has been developed over the years on the need for complete planning, the unity of purpose shown by all member nations' military leaders and the highly developed capability of SEATO Force to operate together as has been shown in the many SEATO exercises.



Group Captain A.L. Parlane (New Zealand), who has been Head of Plans at the SEATO Military Planning office for the past two years, was given a farewell luncheon in Bangkok recently, by SEATO military officers. He is seen receiving a SEATO plaque from Major General Autrey J. Maroun (centre), Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office. On the right is the new Head of Plans, Col. R.F. Fraser, United States.

● *Members of the SEATO team pictured with officials of the Hill Tribes Development and Welfare centre, Mae Hok, and other government officials who helped the team during a familiarisation trip to North-West Thailand.*

SEATO TEAM'S 'MINI' CIVIC ACTION PROJECT

A six-man team from the South-East Asia Treaty Organization recently carried out a "mini', civic action project in North-West Thailand while on an eight-day familiarisation trip to the area.

The team—made up of officers from SEATO's Military Planning Office and one civilian from the Public Information Office—paid for medicines which were distributed to hill tribesmen and their families at Mae Hok, about 160 kms. west of Chiang Mai, and at Pugu village, Khun Yuam District.

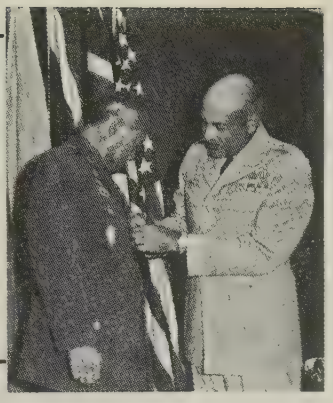
The team's doctor, Lt. Col. Boonsong Keovichit, Royal Thai Army, set up his first surgery at the Hill Tribes Development and Welfare Centre, Mae Hok, where he saw 127 patients. Next day over 70 patients attended his second clinic at Pugu.

The team also provided sweets for the local children.

Other members of the SEATO team were: Lt.Col. Peter Joplin, RNZA (team leader); Col. Somboon Sitdhichoke, RTA; Wing Commander Bob Cox, RAAF; Lt. Col. Paul Riese, US Army, and Mr. Peter Moss, UK, of SEATO Public Information Office.

Familiarization trips are made to enable SEATO military and civilian staff to learn more of the country and its people and to obtain logistic information for planning purposes.

● *ABOVE: Karen tribespeople queue up for treatment at the surgery set up Mae Hok. RIGHT: Lt.-Col. Boonsong (right) treats a mother and child at his second clinic at Pugu, Khun Yuam District.*



● *Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, the Thai Prime Minister and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Thailand, on May 15 became the first Honorary Member of the SEATO Military Planning Office. Here the Chief of the MPO Maj.-Gen. Autrey J. Maroun pins on a SEATO badge during the ceremony.*

THAI PREMIER IS MPO's FIRST HON. MEMBER

THE SEATO Military Planning Office gained its first Honorary Member on May 15 when Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, the Thai Prime Minister and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Thailand, was presented with a SEATO Badge by Major-General Autrey J. Maroun, Chief of the MPO.

Among those watching the presentation were SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas, the Military Adviser of Thailand, Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya, the Director of Communist Suppression Operations Command, Lt. Gen. Saiyud Kerdphol, Air Marshal Manoh Suriya and Lt. Gen. Lek Naeomal, from Thai Supreme Command Headquarters, SEATO Deputy Secretary-General Robert Hyslop and the Military Advisers' Representatives of SEATO member nations.

Making the presentation, General Maroun thanked Field Marshal Thanom for his keen interest in the MPO.

"Having our headquarters in Bangkok, and being able to draw on the professional and local knowledge of officers of your Armed Forces has made the task of planning for the defence of the Treaty Area very much easier", said Gen. Maroun.

Field Marshal Thanom said that since attending the first meeting of SEATO held in Manila in 1954 he had closely followed its development and progress.

After the ceremony, Field Marshal Thanom met the multi-national Military Planning Office staff before touring the Headquarters.

Call for united action against subversion

SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas on May 19 expressed the hope that other free countries of Asia which are not members of SEATO, such as the Republic of Korea, would join in an effort to establish a "united Asian action" against Communist subversion and insurgency.

The General, who was addressing staff and students of the National Defence College of the Republic of Korea visiting the Organization's headquarters for briefings and discussions, said that the Communists were determined to subvert the individual developing countries of Asia and of other less advanced regions of the world, such as Africa.

Gen. Vargas continued: "The irony of it all is that the developing free countries of the world cannot, strictly speaking, positively set up a united front as such against Communist subversion.

"Any collaboration among them must necessarily take the shape of a loose-knit working arrangement in which expertise and experience are exchanged and are jointly assessed, and the various measures applied to given situation as applicable," said Gen. Vargas.

There appeared to be an inherent fear on the part of some developing free countries in Asia that a more formal and positive collaboration in counter-subversion and insurgency could lead to the undue introduction into their respective territories of military forces of foreign powers.

Because of the threat posed by Communist subversion and insurgency, SEATO had modified its strategy to make it more responsive to the new imperatives of the times.

● *General Choe presents a National Defence College plaque to Secretary-General Vargas watched by Deputy Secretary-General Robert Hyslop (left), Chief of SEATO Military Planning Office, Major General Autrey J. Maroun (on the right of General Choe) and college staff and students.*

SEATO assistance will provide medical station

A SEATO contribution of baht 85,000 to help the Royal Thai Government set up a medical station for hill tribe refugees, was handed over at the Organization's headquarters on May 20 by SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas to the Thai SEATO Acting Council Representative, M.R. Kasem S. Kasemsri.

The medical station will be at the resettlement centre at Ban Song Kwae in the northern province of Nan.

Referring to the New Zealand contribution of 500,000 baht, made under the auspices of SEATO, and also to be used in Nan, General Vargas said: "I'm very glad that SEATO has been able to make another contribution to this very important task being carried out by the Thai Government.

"The villagers who will profit from the presence of a medical station there are mostly refugees from Communist terrorist activities, and the resettlement centre is part of the over-all programme to bring greater security to the area as well as improving the living conditions of the people."

● *Pictured at the presentation: Gen. Vargas (left), M.R. Kasem (centre) and Lt. Gen. Saiyud Kerdphol, Director of the Communist Suppression Operations and Co-ordination Centre.*

M.R. Kasem called the assistance a "gesture of goodwill which reflects the undiminishing interest which our Organization entertains in helping its members, who need help, to combat the insidious threat through development and security measures."

New post for Ambassador Stewart

THE New Zealand Ambassador to Thailand and Laos, Mr. Ian L.G. Stewart, (pictured left) left Bangkok in May for New Zealand before proceeding to Rome where he has been appointed Ambassador. Mr. Stewart is one of the most experienced and highly regarded diplomats in the New Zealand Foreign Service. For four years before coming to Thailand in February, 1968, Mr. Stewart, as head of the Defence Division of the then Department of External Affairs, was a senior advisor to the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Keith Holyoake.

Mr. Stewart is a Master of Commerce from the Victoria University of Wellington with Honours in Economics and Economic History. In the Second World War, he was an infantry officer in the Middle East and Italy.

His previous overseas postings have been in Ottawa and Paris. In the latter he was Charge d' Affaires. He came to Thailand as New Zealand Ambassador and was also accredited to Laos. During his assignment in Thailand he was also New Zealand SEATO Council Representative.

NEW ZEALAND HELPS THAILAND UNDER SEATO —AID SCHEME

A ceremony to mark New Zealand's contribution of 500,000 baht (US$ 25,000) under its SEATO aid scheme to Thailand's counterinsurgency efforts was held at SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, on May 11.

The money will be used to construct a water storage dam at a hilltribe resettlement centre at Ban Pa Klang in the northern province of Nan. Nearly 5,000 people of the Yao and Meo tribes now live there, after being evacuated from their former homes in remote hills in the province as a result of increased Communist terrorist activities.

At the ceremony, Mr. Gordon Parkinson, New Zealand charge d' affaires and Acting SEATO Council Representative, said that the Royal Thai Government had already provided the hill tribes villagers with land, wells, materials for housing, and medical and educational assistance. The New Zealand Government believed that a dam would help meet the villagers very real need for water conservation to improve their farming and livestock raising.

"Furthermore we believe that by improving the welfare of the people of Ban Pa Klang, this dam will represent a positive contribution to the Royal Thai Government's efforts to meet the threat of insurgency in the area," said Mr. Parkinson.

He continued: "It serves to draw attention to the importance of the non-military aspects of SEATO's work. Whether engaged in medical research, disseminating information, or building dams, SEATO is actively engaged in promoting social and economic well-being as well as security."

Accepting the contribution on behalf of the Royal Thai Government, M.R. Kasem S. Kasemsri, Acting SEATO Council Representative for Thailand, said it was appropriate that the assistance should be channelled through SEATO, in which New Zealand and Thailand were both active members.

"One of the main objectives of SEATO is to supplement the national efforts to counter the subversive and insurgent threats, and the Organization itself has given financial assistance as well as technical advice to the hilltribe resettlement centre", he said.

● *Pictured at SEATO Headquarters for the ceremony at which New Zealand contributed 500,000 baht to a hilltribe resettlement centre in Thailand are (from left): SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas; Mr. Gordon Parkinson, New Zealand Charge d'Affaires and Acting Council Representative; M.R. Kasem S. Kasemsri, Thailand Acting Council Representative; Lt. Gen. Saiyud Kerdphol, Director of the Communist Suppression Operations and Co-ordination Centre.*

SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas praised the Royal Thai Government for its vigorous dual-purpose campaign aimed at defeating Communist attempts to create insurgency situation in isolated parts of the country on the one hand, and developing better living conditions for the people living in those areas, on the other.

He cited the assistance being rendered by the New Zealand Government as yet another heartening expression of the free world spirit of sympathetic understanding and practical co-operation among SEATO allies. "When completed," General Vargas said, "the water storage dam at Ban Pa Klang, should serve to remind all of us that Communist exploitation of minority groups and isolated segments of the population could be reduced to failure by prompt and far-sighted action on the government's part."

According to Lt. Gen. Saiyud Kerdphol, Director of the Communist Suppression Operations and Co-ordination Centre, under the resettlement project evacuees had been able to make a new start with good prospects of earning a living in greater peace and security.

ECAFE's 26th Session an 'historic' occasion—U Nyun

CALL FOR INTENSIFIED ACTION TO ENSURE ASIAN PROGRESS

U Nyun

A report calling for action by both developing and developed countries—individually and in regional or sub-regional groups—to help ensure Asian advances in the 1970's was adopted by the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) when it concluded its 26th session in Bangkok on April 27.

The report incorporates actions and decisions taken in a dozen economic and social fields at the annual session, held between April 14-27 under the chairmanship of Dr. Boonrod Binson (Thailand). Delegations were present from ECAFE's 27 members and three associate members, and 13 other nations.

During the session the Commission adopted 10 resolutions designed to ensure practical programmes for the Second United Nations Development Decade; to bring about "more desirable rates of population growth" to help meet the region's needs for shipping services and personnel; to seek regional solutions to rice problems; to train development administrators; to begin action toward training of specialists needed for computer services; and to find ways to aid the region's land-locked countries.

It recommended that Bangkok be declared ECAFE's permanent headquarters, and sought associate membership for the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. In addition, it took action to further a new generation of ECAFE-linked operational projects in fields such as telecommunications and statistics.

In his concluding remarks, ECAFE Executive Secretary U Nyun said it had been an "historic session".

In a resolution known as the "ECAFE Declaration", the Commission called on the U.N. General Assembly to adopt at its 25th session later this year "a comprehensive international strategy for global development during the 70's setting out specific goals for the attainment of development objectives and specifying concerted measures for their achievement".

It also called "for the intensification of initiatives, the elaboration of regional strategy and the adoption of practical programmes by ECAFE to further regional, multi-national and sub-regional co-operation".

The ECAFE Declaration urged both developed and developing nations to use ECAFE, "in co-operation with the United Nations agencies and related institutions as an instrument for charting a regional development strategy and for providing assistance in implementation...".

Progress in a number of regional projects stemming from ECAFE initiatives was reported during the session. On this topic, the "ECAFE Declaration" referred to "the significant role and responsibility of ECAFE in promoting development at the national and regional levels", and noted "with satisfaction the successful establishment by ECAFE" of—

> "...institutions such as the Asian Development Bank, the Asian Industrial Development Council, the Committee for Co-ordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin, the Committee for Joint Prospecting for Mineral Resources in Asian Off-shore Areas, the Typhoon Committee, the Asian Coconut Community, the Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning, Asian Statistical Institute, the Co-ordinating Committee for the Asian Highway, the inter-agency joint units for establishing a regional telecommunication network and various centres such as those for commercial arbitration, shipping advisory services, trade promotion, and projections and programming"...

ECAFE will hold its 27th session in Manila in 1971.

Memorable tour for Thai dancers

THAILAND's Cultural Mission to Australia, comprising 35 dancers and musicians and five officials d by Mr. Chua Sariman, Director-General of Thaind's Department of Fine Arts, returned to Bangkok April. The mission or, as it was called by Australians, the Royal Thai Ballet, went there under the auspices of the Thai Government to participate in he Festival of Perth and the Adelaide Festival of rts. Performances were also given in Canberra and ydney.

On his return, Mr. Chua said: "Responses from he audiences and the views of all dance critics wherever we staged our performances were one of the most important sources of rejoicings on our part throughout ur stay in Australia.

"The whole tour was memorable for, apart rom the enthusiasm and spontaneity of the audiences verywhere, Australians on the whole had shown us he warmth of their hospitality and a genuine desire o learn more about us," said Mr. Chua.

● **A typical hand movement from the celebrated 'Finger Dance' of northern Thailand demonstrated by Samruay Boonyanuwat and Tirppawan Thumtheangsatya.**

● **For most of the Thai dancers it was the first time they had been to Australia—or tasted apples fresh off the tree. Shown here on a visit to a orchard at Norton Summit, Southern Australia, are Abhinandha Purnasugandha, Jindarat Viriyawong, and an Australian friend, Fiona Millen.**

● **A Koala bear at Cleland Wildlife Preserve, at Mt. Lofty, near Adelaide, responds readily to one of Thailand's leading dancers, Sirivath Disyanant. Also pictured is Mr. Manaspas Xuto, Public Relations Officer to the tour.**

1970—International Education Year

UNESCO PLEA TO ELIMINATE "SCANDALOUS WASTE" OF HUMAN POTENTIAL

An appeal to all countries to make International Education Year "a year of significant achievement, both qualitative and quantitative, in the field of education" has been made by René Maheu, Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

In a message on the significance of the year, he suggests that solutions be sought to such problems as the need to eliminate illiteracy, and he calls for "integration of school and university education with out-of-school and adult education".

The text of his message follows—

AT the suggestion of UNESCO, the General Assembly of the United Nations has designated 1970 as International Education Year and I ask all the countries of the world to do everything in their power from now on to make this a year of significant achievement, both qualitative and quantitative, in the field of education.

In many countries, at the present time, both the forms and the content of education are being seriously challenged. Instead of indulging the illusion that controversies and passions will eventually die down of their own accord, we shall do better to make a bold attempt to understand and grapple with the crisis—in which we should, moreover, discern not so much the threat of some unimaginable collapse as the promise of a necessary renaissance.

In a world that is changing before our very eyes—a world in which the population explosion, decolonization and the profound economic and social transformations resulting from technological development are so many forces making for the democratization of education, while at the same time the acceleration of scientific progress is resulting in the more and more rapid obsolescence of knowledge, and the development of mass communication techniques and audio-visual methods is revolutionizing the traditional bases of communication—it is out of the question for education to be confined, as in the past, to training the leaders of tomorrow's society in accordance with some predetermined scheme of structures, needs and ideas, or to preparing the young, once and for all, for a given type of existence.

Education is no longer the privilege of an élite or the concomitant of a particular age; to an increasing extent, it is reaching out to embrace the whole of society and the entire life-span of the individual. This means that it must be continuous and omnipresent. It must no longer be thought of as preparation for life, but as a dimension of life, distinguished by continual acquisition of knowledge and ceaseless re-examination of ideas.

But how is education to broaden its bounds in this way if it remains compartmentalized in its internal organization and isolated as a whole from life and society? Not only are the various elements involved in the educational process often poorly integrated, but education as such is still all too often cut off from the rest of human activity. In too many cases, the school, the college and the university, far from living at one with the community, constitute tiny worlds of their own.

That an electronic engineer—for example—should have no properly organized means of sharing his knowledge with those of his colleagues, friends and neighbours who would like to bring their information

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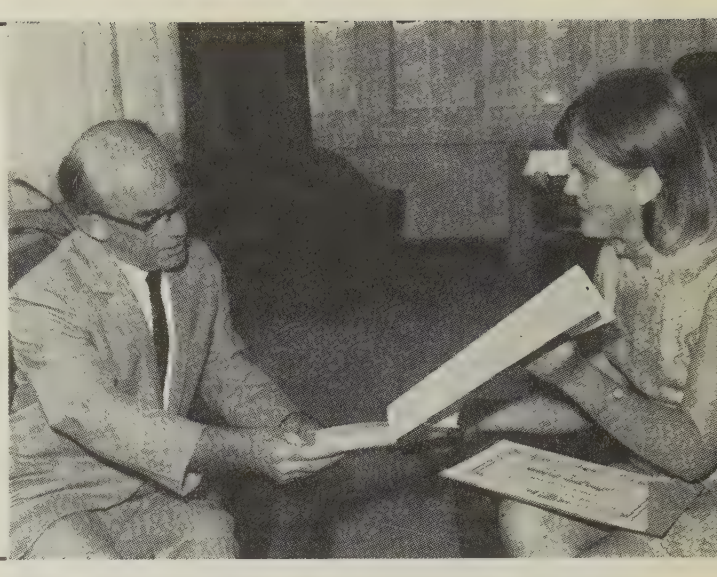
● *Miss Julie McAdam, who has recently concluded her eight-week tour at SEATO HQ. in Bangkok under its internship programme, is pictured presenting her report to Mr. Robert Hyslop, SEATO Deputy Secretary-General.*

Miss McAdam is working for her Master's degree in History at the University of Sydney.

The SEATO Internship Programme has been designed to enable young scholars from member countries to obtain first-hand understanding of the various aspects of military and civil activities carried out by the South-East Asia Treaty Organization in its defensive role against aggression.



International Education Year

p to date; that an educational establishment should e used for a maximum of only 200 days in the year, nd then for eight hours a day at the very most; that oung people who have studied for several years at chool or university should be unable to turn the skills ney have acquired to account on the labour market ecause they have failed in some competitive or other xamination: all this is waste—of material resources, f human potential—which must no longer be tolerated nywhere, and least of all in the developing countries.

And since I have referred to those countries, ow can I pass over in silence the most monstrous, he most scandalous, of all the many instances of vasted human potential: illiteracy, which still, at the resent time keeps more than one third of the human ace in a state of helplessness, below the level of nodern civilization? When shall we make up our minds to eliminate this scourge from the face of the earth?

These are the sort of problems to which the world community is invited to address itself on the occasion of International Education Year, in order hat bold and inventive solutions may be found and pplied. And it is towards the universal and life-long ducation referred to above that UNESCO asks gov-rnments, institutions and individuals to direct the ecessary effort of reflection and promotion.

No one can be blind to the immense difficul-ies of the structural and intellectual conversion that his idea of life-long education implies if it is not to be llowed to sink in a bog of empty verbiage. For what is needed is nothing less than the organic integration of school and university education with out-of-school education and adult education—two branches which, even today, are all too often regarded as peripheral when it is obvious, if we take an overall view, that they are destined to play an essential part in the continuing and many-sided moulding of the human mind.

Naturally, no one supposes that all this can be achieved, anywhere, in the course of a single year. But the time has come for all of us to advance boldly together along this path, which is the path of contemporary mankind.

The great crises of education have always coincided with profound changes in society and in civilization. I believe that we are approaching one of those moments in history. The need for new human models, both for society and for the individual, is making itself felt almost everywhere. And while inventions of such complexity may be beyond the power of education alone, we all realize that without education they would be quite impossible.

For, when all is said and done, no progress has reality or meaning for man except in so far as it is projected and reflected in his education.

It is therefore in the name of the right of every human being to education, as a right to progress and renewal that, on this day of hope and peace, I declare International Education Year open and appeal to peoples for that generous emulation and to States for that beneficent co-operation on which its success depends.

PROGRESS... AND THE HILL TRIBES OF PAKISTAN

By F.A. KHAN

Director of Archaeology in Pakistan.

THE fascinating ethnic culture of the tribes living in Pakistan's Chittagong Hill Tracts will, it seems, in the long run inevitably disappear. Hitherto, they have been virtually unaffected by the urban life of the settled population on the plains. But gradual industrialisation and construction of roads in the area, together with improved travel facilities, have already brought big changes

Within the next few decades the tribesmen may well lose their identity. Eventually, their way of life, their customs, dress, ornaments, arts and crafts may go too.

There is no point in arguing whether the advance of modern civilisation into the Hills will be to the people's benefit or precipitate a cultural tragedy. For the process is under way.

The Hill Tracts district is in the south-eastern part of the Chittagong Division of East Pakistan and has a number of features uncommon in other districts of the province. Elongated and hilly, it is like a vast, colourful garden forming an extension of the high forest regions of Burma and the Hill State of Tippera.

For administrative purposes, the Chittagong tribal district comprises three sub-divisions, each under a non-tribal officer who represents the Provincial Government. Corresponding to these sub-divisions, the district is also divided into three tribal units. In each of these, a Chief is responsible for collecting revenue and regulating the internal affairs of the villages.

The Chakma tribal unit is in the centre and north of the district, the Bohmong unit in the south, and the Mong unit in the north-west. These tribal units are further sub-divided into village units, each under a headman. Each of these units consists of a number of villages or, sometimes, a cluster of huts-ments. The office of headman is normally hereditary.

● *Two young Tippera women at a village rice mill.*

Amid the forest-clad hills and valleys, about a dozen distinct tribes live in peace and isolation; they have their own peculiar customs, religion, social structure, arts and crafts, dress and ornaments, tradition and superstitions. The ripples of modernity have not until now disturbed the tranquillity of tribal life below its surface.

The principal tribes are the Chakma, Marma, Tippera and Mrung. The Chakmas, by far the most numerous and advanced, are followed by the Marmas.

The tribesmen of the Hills are ethnically different from the plainsmen. Physically, they have a close affinity with the hill peoples of the extensive regions from Tibet to Indo-china. Short in stature, they have black hair, prominent cheekbones, and are fair in complexion, reminiscent of the familiar Mongoloid type.

The tribes belong to 'kin' groups: among the Chakmas there are 24 such groups, among the Marma 21, and among the Mrung-Mro about 15 groups. In general, the kin groups are loosely organised. The

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Pakistan's Hill Tribes

eople tend to intermingle, although normally they o not have to marry outside their own tribe. The mily is patrilineal, and normally only sons inherit roperty which they share equally. But if there is no n, a daughter may succeed to the paternal property.

A woman ceases to be a member of her father's mily after marriage and is integrated into the family her husband. Marriages are usually arranged by e parents, but the boy and girl must agree and love-arriages are fairly common. The boy has to offer resents and a certain stipulated sum, and the bride's ther makes similar presents. Polygamy is permitted ut rarely practised.

Divorces can be obtained by either party with e concurrence of the headman on grounds such as chronic disease or cruelty. If the initiative is from e wife's side, the dowry money has to be returned o the husband, but if he takes the initiative nothing paid. Marriageable age varies, but in general child-arriage is not practised. Young men marry between e ages of 20 and 25 and girls between 17 and 20.

Members of both sexes smoke indigenous pipes nd cigars. Similarly, alcohol prepared from rice is ound in nearly every house. The people prepare eir favourite drink in a simple plant consisting of two arthen pots and bamboo pipes.

Bamboo grows abundantly in the forest and onstitutes the backbone of economy. The people turn into every conceivable kind of household article in short time and with great skill.

Houses are bulit entirely of bamboo and reeds n platforms raised between one and 15 feet from the ground, depending on the gradient of the hill slope. Access is provided by roughly hewn stepped tree-trunks. Below the high platforms cattle, pigs, goats and poultry re kept. The house is partitioned into apartments with split bamboo mat walls. Accommodation is al-otted with due regard to seniority and married couples re attended to first.

There is a common living room for the entire amily, with a fire-place and oven on the mud floor. his room is used for entertaining guests and storing askets containing cotton, paddy, weaving implements, lothing, bedding, utensils, musical instruments, fishing ets and weapons.

The tribesmen are rather primitive agriculturists, relying on methods which, from time immemorial, they have been forced to adopt because the uneven hilly terrain is not suitable for the plough. They practise 'shifting' cultivation. All scrub and small trees are cut down on the slope of a hill, leaving only the big trees denuded of their lower branches. This is done in January/February, and firing takes place in April.

The thoroughly dry material is reduced to ashes, burning the soil to a depth of an inch or two. When heavy rains set in and the ground is saturated, the burnt debris of the forest acts as a stimulant to crops. The ground is planted with mixed seeds of cotton, paddy, melon, cucumber, pumpkin, chilli and maize. The sower makes holes in the ground with his chopper and from a small basket drops in the mixed seeds. The different crops are harvested at different times as they ripen.

This system is wasteful because the same land cannot be cultivated in two successive years; it takes

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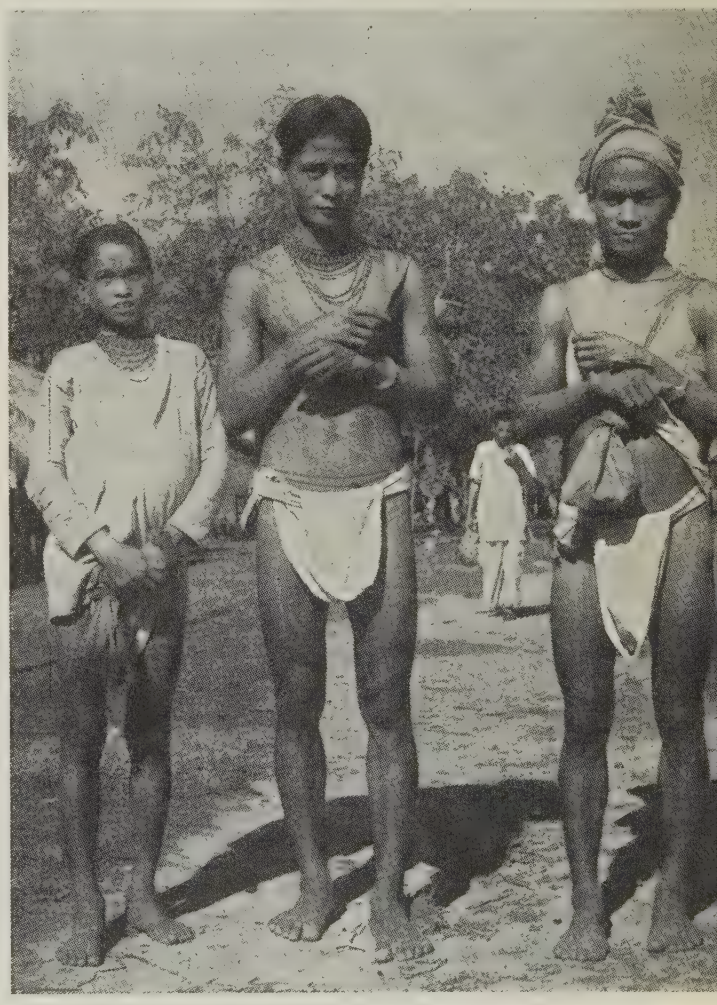
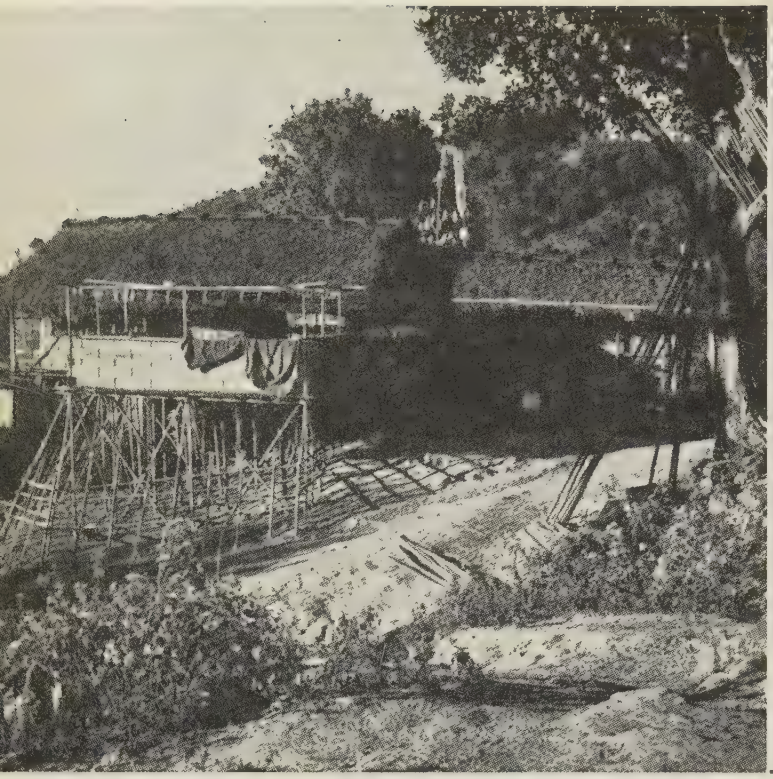


● *A group of Tippera tribesmen. Ethnically, they differ from the plainsmen.*



● *Above: A Pankhu woman weaving yarn.*
Left: A bamboo house in the Hill Tracts.

Pakistan's Hill Tribes

a long time to recoup its lost fertility. Shifting cultivation is not controlled. The headmen hold no formal deed or legal title over land; they do not bother much about proprietary ownership. Once a particular piece of land is cultivated and marked off by a Hillman, no one attempts to dislodge him. Land is allotted to individuals, and persons other than the Hill tribesmen are not allowed to own land.

The people fish and hunt, make baskets, weave dresses, and do a certain amount of wood-work. For metal-work and pottery they depend on non-tribal plainsmen who live among them as tradesmen and craftsmen. Among these craftsmen, the blacksmith provides an essential service.

The dress of the Hill peoples varies from tribe to tribe. Women wear a home-spun, black or blue, long skirt with beautiful embroidery work in red, a breast-cloth, and a white turban. Men wear a *dhoti*, a home-made cotton coat, and a white turban. Unmarried girls occasionally wear colourful scarfs around the upper parts of their bodies; these are knotted over the shoulder.

Cotton grows in abundance, and yarn is prepared by indigenous processes in every tribal household. The weaving of cloth, both plain and intricately designed, is considered an essential accomplishment for each unmarried girl; without this skill she finds it hard to secure a bridegroom. The yarn is dyed with a mixture made from indigenous plants.

Religious beliefs vary from tribe to tribe but Buddhism is the dominant faith. The Chakmas and the Marmas, who together constitute more than half the total population, are all Buddhists. The Tipperas practise a loose mixture of Hinduism and animism; the Bonjogis and the Lushai tribes are predominantly Christian; while the Mrung, Khumis and Pankhus are animists. However, all the tribes, in varying degree, believe in good and evil spirits.

The chief festival is held after the harvest, in winter at the time of the full moon. The people offer the Chief presents and rent for their lands, and indulge in revelry and merry-making. All the full moons, in fact, are considered sacred and observed by a festival.

The big changes that are now occurring in the area pose a threat to the quiet life of the hills. Already about a hundred thousand of the tribal population have been uprooted from their settlements by the construction of dams. Now they live scattered in various parts of the hills, and their way of life has changed.

(Article reprinted from HEMISPHERE, the Asian-Australian magazine).

Asians study at Australian "Tropical University"

THE James Cook University at Townsville in North Queensland, Australia, is emerging as a major world centre for tropical research.

Less than nine years ago it opened as a small university college of the University of Queensland. Today it is bustling centre of higher learning where work is under way on many projects that will be of practical value to the countries of Asia, the Pacific and Africa.

Veterinary, marine biology, physics, chemistry, agriculture, and engineering are among the departments applying their research to tropical environment. Already, it has earned the title of Australia's only "Tropical University".

It is ideally situated for tropical studies at Townsville, a flourishing coastal city (population 65,000) on latitude 22 ½ degrees, 996 miles north of Brisbane, the Queensland State capital.

The university, both in enrolment and sphere of studies, has been growing steadily since its opening as a college in February, 1961. This year it has 1,100 students and is designed eventually to cater for 10,500. As the university increases in stature, so does its attraction for students and scientists from Asian, Pacific and African countries.

In 1965 it had three overseas undergraduate students, all from Malaysia. In 1969 there were 20, from Malaysia and Vietnam. This year the figure will be more than 40-from Malaysia, Vietnam, Ghana and Burma.

In 1971, university authorities expect an even greater inflow of research scholars from Asia and Africa when the university begins Australia's first one-year Master's degree post-graduate course in tropical veterinary science. The course, designed specifically for Asia, Africa and tropical Australia, will investigate animal breeding, nutrition and disease control under tropical conditions.

The tropical aspect of the James Cook university is evident in many other fields. Among them is the establishment of Australia's first tropical School of Biological Sciences and Marine Research Centre.

Editors visit SEATO HQ

Six New Zealand editors on an extensive South-East Asian tour visited SEATO Headquarters for talks with SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas and Major General Autrey J. Maroun, Chief of the SEATO Military Planning office.

In the photograph below (from left to right) are: Mr. F.W. Dumbleton, Gisborne Herald, Mr. P. Cheeseright, NZBC, Mr. J.C. Graham, New Zealand Herald, Mr. M.L. Taylor, Acting SEATO Director Public Information office, and Secretary-General Jesus Vargas.

SOME DILEMMAS OF COUNTER-INSURGENCY

By George K. Tanham
and
Dennis J. Duncanson

...In this article, it is proposed to put aside the debate over the rights and wrongs of Vietnam and the counter-insurgency effort made by successive American administrations and to dwell instead on certain counter-insurgency dilemmas. They are intractable enough to tax the most statesmanlike minds.

It is doubtful that these problems involve ethical issues; therefore, choosing the right solution cannot be said to confer any special righteousness upon the solver or wickedness upon one who makes an unsuccessful choice.

Furthermore, the article does not try to offer solutions but rather attempts to delineate a few of the more perplexing and practical dilemmas faced by those governments dealing with Communist insurgents.

(The article is reprinted by special permission from FOREIGN AFFAIRS, October, 1969. Copyright by the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., New York).

ALL measures of defence taken by a government can be represented as a choice between evils, in so far as it stands to gain nothing by them, only to avoid defeat, and this invariably at considerable cost. In the broadest sense, counter-insurgency is a branch of defence and therefore inherently also a choice between evils.

In South-East Asia the defence is against Communist revolutionary warfare, and the choices present themselves to the governments of the region as a series of acute dilemmas, precisely because war and revolution are intertwined, yet may demand different solutions.

Naturally, the Communist strategists try to make things as difficult as they can, deliberately contriving to add to the dilemmas of the government they wish to overthrow. This makes it harder for the defence to choose a solution and to pursue it consistently; the result is often vacillation and hesitation, muddle and even chaos. And in the longer terms the strength of the defence will be dissipated and worn down as much by its own efforts and consequent internal strains as by the damage the insurgents can inflict on it directly.

A well-known and much discussed military dilemma illustrates the nature of the problem. Should the primary military effort be directed to search-and-destroy operations, the usual military strategy, or to the more passive secure-and-hold tactics? If the former, the elusive enemy may lead the pursuing force a long chase without itself being destroyed, while no permanent friendly base can be established because adequate forces will not be available to protect it. Yet if too many forces are allocated to secure-and-hold operations, the enemy may also secure and hold his area, and this may result in the *de facto* loss of part of the country—an outcome the counter-insurgent government is trying to prevent.

The debate over this dilemma in Vietnam need not detain us here, but the problem will be faced in other areas where insurgency breaks out.

The dilemma of the police chief faced with civil disturbance is a familiar one. Usually the margin of error in judging the precise degree of force to employ in restoring order is very narrow; and if, after

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is all over, he seems to have used either too much r too little he stands to be roundly condemned.

This dilemma, which has arisen many times in outh-East Asia in the past, is a crude one when compared with the more subtle applications of the underlying principles developed by the Marxist-Leninists in ecent times. These turn mainly on "front" tactics. he Communists will try to penetrate and dominate ther organized bodies, such as peasant co-operatives, omen's organizations, schools and trade unions; and Vietnam use has been made of certain religious odies.

Use of 'fronts'

Because of the very nature of fronts and the ck of accurate intelligence, it is often difficult to ll which are true voluntary organization of the people nd which have been cleverly subverted or created by e Communists for their own ends.

The Communists may, of course, allow organizaons they dominate to continue their overtly useful nctions, and yet mobilize them skilfully for certain nannounced objectives. Some of the activities may erve to promote Communist goals but they will be ortrayed as normal protest—strike demonstrations, ass protests and even sit-ins. These may not only ap a government's resources but also, and even more portantly, lead it into unfortunate actions which ause it to lose support at home and abroad.

It seems to be almost a rule of public opinion hat people are more prone to believe that a governent is deliberately repressing worthy causes than to elieve that these causes are being exploited for unisclosed political ends. If an organization is found o be a Communist front, what is the best way of ealing with it, both in terms of effectiveness and ith regard to worldwide and local psychological mpact?

Complicated issues

Dilemmas in other fields hamper the actions of overnments, regardless of whether the States are newly mancipated or have never been colonized and whether r not they seek foreign aid and advice. At the head f the list are those which arise as a result of the Communist strategy of trying to gain power first in he countryside.

In most of the countries of South-East Asia the issues involved here are very complicated and include long-term political factors as well as immediate administrative ones.

South-East Asian countries exhibit only to a limited extent the characteristics of the modern nation-States of the West. Their traditional notions of government rest on the dichotomy between central sovereignty and peripheral self-administration. Frontiers were not conceived as fixed lines until modern conditions produced maps requiring sharp definition or the State developed into a more requiring entity.

In China itself, the State consisted historically of a central throne whose authority in local affairs tended to diminish with distance; beyond the borderlands lesser States and petty principalities reflected China's image to a greater or lesser degree. Some broad areas between the various realms were in effect rulerless, inhabited by minority peoples lacking a central authority of their own but lending allegiance from time to time to one neighbour or another.

Sometimes an energetic prince, or the Son of Heaven himself, would impose his authority for a time, but radical changes in the political balance were rare and short-lived.

Local tradition

Colonial administrators tended either to step into the shoes of traditional rulers, usurping their sovereignty outright, or to leave them undisturbed except to establish a paramount suzerainty which similarly found a place in local tradition. In either event, the relationship between subject and ruler remained essentially unchanged—especially over such matters as taxation (or tribute), labour and military service, and, in most of South-East Asia, the regulation of irrigation.

All this is fully understood by the Communists of South-East Asia, if not by their "revisionist" brethen in Europe. After the general failure in the 1930s to achieve "proletarian revolution," the Asian Communists formulated the idea of capturing the periphery and working back toward the centres of power. In other words, the revolution would now seek its "contradictions" and exploit conditions and issues in the borderlands and the outlying villages where a political

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vacuum prevailed and where the Leninist dynamic of struggle could be cultivated.

"Contradictions" were not to be found exclusively in class conflicts, but wherever any type of social tensions could be built up—in religious difference, minority grievances, tribal rivalries, local ambitions or personal feuds. The revolutionary apparatus would find its bases far from the capital and gradually work inward against the government in the hope that after a number of years it would be strong enough either to assault the capital itself or bring the government to its knees in a protracted struggle.

The application of this doctrine of "using the countryside to surround the towns" was perfected in the lands of Indochina during the 1950s and 1960s.

The first of the dilemmas it poses is that if urgent steps are taken by the government to fill the political vacuum in the borderlands by providing officials who can promote the welfare of the people as well as enforce law and order, the Communists can represent this response as a policy of oppression. Because of the tradition of local autonomy and suspicion of outsiders, problems will arise even where officials are able and dedicated, which of course they frequently are not.

Danger of vacuum

On the other hand, if no such steps are taken and the area is left unoccupied by government forces, the vacuum, though relatively harmless in the past, will provide a field in which the revolutionaries can operate unhindered and where in addition they can claim that the government is ignoring and neglecting the people.

The second dilemma arises when a government resolves the first and decides it must take action in rural areas. In addition to the general need for modernization and public welfare felt in underdeveloped countries, defence of the State and the people in the face of a Marxist-Leninist bid for power necessitates new administrative undertakings. Should these be organized by the central government or entrusted to village or local government?

If the administration is undertaken from the centre there may be problems. Officials, possibly many from new agencies, with no experience and no precedents, little local knowledge and no established relationships, may descend on village leaders and the rural population. The resulting inefficiency may be compounded by resentment against the intruders; and there will be opportunities for corruption which may be difficult to detect in the novel situation. The whole attempt may become raw material for Communist propaganda and blackmail.

Yet if the task is left to local authorities, in order to foster local government, inefficiencies of another sort are almost bound to occur: policies may not be fully understood; there may be no control to ensure that policy, if understood, is properly carried out; and almost certainly local officials will be inadequately trained to formulate and execute programmes in accordance with the overall policy and strategy.

Corruption

Furthermore, there may be local corruption, which is no less reprehensible and no more acceptable publicly than under a centralized system and, in any case, is equally helpful to the Communist cause.

While most governments usually resolve the first dilemma by deciding that some action must be taken in the rural areas, the second one is not so easily determined. There is no body of principle or experience to help a government decide to centralize or decentralize its effort, or to determine what the blend should be. The uncertainty often leads to switches of emphasis from one to the other with consequent loss of momentum and continuity—all to the advantage of the Communists.

Popular support

Another dilemma which receives considerable attention because of its ideological implications stems from a government's desire to obtain support while engaging in activities which may not be popular but may be necessary. It is assumed in the West that popular support can be won and held only by arousing mass enthusiasm for a cause. The Communists, like most of the governments they are trying to overthrow in South-East Asia, know that this assumption is largely untrue in their type of society.

They aim to obtain total support in practical matters as they bring areas progressively under their

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ntrol. They want to leave no time, energy or ma- rial resources for allocation to private priorities, no pportunity for individuals to opt out.

More often than not, individual actions spring om fear or the hope of personal gain and less fre- uently from principle or belief. Even in the dedi- ted cadre, ambition and personal needs may be pow- ful motivations. The greater the anxiety not to be ld man out, the more total popular support can be ade.

The involvement is often slow and subtle; con- ibutions in money or kind, performance of errands d collection of intelligence grow ultimately into full mmitment and enrollment in fighting units. In many ses, in South-East Asia at least, conversion to the ommunist cause follows subversion to the movement.

South-East Asian governments have a tendency, rongly encouraged by the Western world, to hold ections in order to prove that they are popular with e people and thus preferable to the Communists, ho also claim popular support. But parliamentary emocracy is still relatively new to most people in outh-East Asia, and conditions of insurgency are not nerally propitious for introducing it.

lection threat

If the elections are completely free, in the sense at the government does not vet the candidates (as ommunist governments vet theirs), then the insurgents an put up their own men and let it be known that ven though the government may guarantee secrecy f the individual ballot, there will be trouble for con- ituencies which do not elect them.

What would actually happen in a South-East sian country that did try to introduce parliamentary emocracy during counterinsurgency operations is a atter of conjecture, for it has never yet been achieved. remains a dilemma how much democracy should nd can be started or expanded by a government hile it is engaged in a protracted conflict with a rong monolithic enemy.

Dilemmas also exist in development, both eco- omic and social; in practice they are difficult to eparate from those that are political, and they are ven more numerous. That the social and economic evelopment processes summed up in the word "mod- ernization" are good in themselves is not seriously disputed. But in practice, ordinary peasants often resent the details of its realization because of strong local beliefs, traditions and leadership which run counter to modern ideas. This dilemma is generally ignored or denied.

To Many Western observers Communist in- surgents owe their hold over the masses to their prom- ises to redress such grievances as social neglect, ethnic discrimination or economic exploitation. There is truth in this view, but it is only one among many factors.

Positive attractions

Many South-East Asians, including ignorant peasants, understand better than Westerners that the Communists who come into their midst are interested in their grievances not so much to right them as to exploit them as pretexts for seizing power. Moreover, not all alleged grievances are real; hence their redress is unlikely by itself to avert or halt a Communist insurrection.

And yet, whatever the truth about "popular aspirations" and "popular support," a government which proposes to rule by consent of the ruled, signified even in the most general and vague fashion, must offer positive attractions of some kind. The political philosophies of ancient China and ancient India, which between them have shaped the outlook of South-East Asia, are at one with modern Western thought on this point.

The need for a government to appear responsive and popular would seem to be greater than ever when it inaugurates a new regime—one recently emancipated from colonialism, or seated in power by a *coup d'etat*, or incorporating in itself unfamiliar institutions such as an elected parliament and a ministerial organization.

Free bounty

One path that may seem to avoid the dilemmas reviewed so far is to offer free social services or free bounty; that is to say, to make the fruits of develop- ment available to the outlying population without drawing on local resources and without introducing any measure that smacks of control.

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It is this contention and this policy which have provided, after the requirements of military defence, the most plausible argument in favour of massive American aid to the countries of South-East Asia which are menaced by Communist insurgency and unable to afford such a remedy for themselves. Yet it leads straight to yet another dilemma involving governmental civic action, perhaps the most confusing of all those considered here.

To see clearly its implications, we need to look again at the manner in which the Communist fights. It is true that at times he fights like a boxer, but at other times he is more like a wrestler. The secret of wrestling is to fell one's adversary, not by means of his weakness and one's own strength, but by means of his strength, which by cunning and skill can be turned against him.

In its early stages, a Communist insurgency usually draws most of its money and its material resources, including weapons and ammunition, from or through the population it is subverting or intimidating.

External aid

In South-East Asia, especially in the borderlands, the population has been accustomed by centuries of experience both to a host of petty exactions, material and otherwise and to buying off bandits and secret societies. It is a tradition that insurgency prospers on. But substantial external aid across a friendly frontier can be expected only after the insurgency has become sufficiently well established to make good use of such aid and to be able to cover up, through enforcing silence on its own people, the source of supply.

It is a widespread misconception that because the inspiration, and even the direction, of an insurgency may be external, the source of supplies must also be external; or conversely, that when supplies clearly are local, it follows that the direction must also be indigenous and not from outside.

In reality, the Marxist-Leninists of the East not only take pride in winning power with a minimum contribution from their own side, but have found from experience that this is a more reliable road to victory. Besides concealing the directing hand, it leaves the door open to repudiation of unsuccessful insurgencies-like the one in Malaya. Also, surprising as this may sound at first, it has the psychological merit of appearing more convincing in peasant eyes.

It is the probable, not the desirable, that commands peasant support. If the conflict appears to be between two forces both sustained logistically from afar, then the outcome is likely to turn on the size of the investment each backer is prepared to put into it. What each will amount to cannot be told until the day of decision, so the peasant in his rice field will be cautious about committing himself.

"Protracted war"

If, however, it is clear that one side is dependent on supplies from afar, and that the insurrectionists can leech off a fairly constant proportion by purchase, theft or capture, then it becomes only a question of patience and endurance (the true meaning of "protracted" in the Chinese phrase translated as "protracted war") until the cleverer insurgents exhaust the morale and the resources of their opponents.

The dilemma facing the defenders, who frequently cannot tell friend from foe, is now plain: whatever is done in the hope of convincing peasants that they have a vested interest in the victory of the established government, whatever improvements are made in social services or however much outright bounty is distributed, it will be seen that the insurgents are also benefiting; and thus the operation will be stripped of some of its persuasiveness.

Civic action

If measures are taken to avoid this situation, in which the insurgents are actually being supplied by their opponents—and they are most difficult and costly—they may be so oppressive or so poorly executed as to spoil the desired effect on the population. The dilemma is clear but not easily resolved: how to gain active popular support and help the people without helping the insurgents also.

The dilemmas inherent in civic-action programmes are compounded when one considers foreign aid. In the first place, what we have just said about a South-

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SOME DILEMMAS OF COUNTER-INSURGENCY

East Asian government's efforts to win the peasant's heart by providing benefits applies with even greater force to schemes visibly financed by a distant nation. The foreigners may leave at any time; they cannot play as enduring a role as that of the insurgents, who are local actors.

Furthermore, foreign aid is just as subject to the leeching-off process as are the government's locally derived resources, and it may even be used as a means to avoid tax collection. This merely deprives the peasant of an excuse for not contributing to the insurgents' exchequer, for whatever he does not pay to the government he will be expected to pay, as a levied "voluntary" contribution, to the insurgents.

Another difficulty with foreign aid for an already harassed government is that it places on the administrative machinery an additional burden which in nearly every case is more than can immediately be borne. "Foreign aid corrupts," we are often told by critics. But corruption is unhappily a superficial symptom of the deeper problem resulting from accelerating the adjustment of the native culture, the native bureaucracy and traditional relations between administrators and administered to modern ways.

Modernization is made both more difficult and more urgent by the Communist challenge. A remedy may be sought in setting up parallel government agencies alongside the traditional ones, to operate in fields and at a tempo designed to meet that challenge and make use of foreign technical advice. But the psychological result will be that the impermanence of the operation will be emphasized in the public mind.

Two additional dangers are that the *ad hoc* agencies will encounter envious opposition from the traditional bureaucrats, and that they themselves will acquire a vested interest in the perpetuation of the insurgency they are being employed to terminate.

There are no preordained outcomes to revolutionary warfare: recent history contradicts the faith of Mao Tse-tung in his own historical "science." Insurgency is a form of struggle which presents almost endless fresh chances to both sides.

So long as the defence is alive to the true nature of the dilemmas described here, and is not diverted by falsely romantic views about how Marxism-Leninism works, the ability to match cunning with skill remains. If the difficulties are not understood, they are insuperable; once they are understood they can be resolved.

All the dilemmas are practical and as neutral in an ethical sense as the laws of physics; only pragmatic statecraft and the instincts of the indigenous leadership can spot the means of solving them, case by case, moment by moment. And yet, idealism has played its part.

Without it, American aid would not have flowed to developing and harassed countries and we would have no policy in Soth-East Asia to argue about; the Marxist-Leninists would probably long since have had their way by default.

Perhaps, in the end, the hardest of the dilemmas of counter-insurgency turns out to the most ancient political dilemma of all: how to marry idealism to statecraft. **(Not to be reprinted)**

● *Senator Vincent Clair Gair of Queensland (right) exchanging views on the situation in South-East Asia with SEATO Deputy Secretary-General Robert Hyslop during his recent three-day visit to Bangkok as part of his official study tour of eight Asian countries. Mr. Gair also called on Thailand's Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn and Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman.*

Australia's bilateral contribution to Thailand under SEATO includes assistance to the Military Technical Training School, the Armed Forces Vehicle Rebuild Workshop, the Motor Mechanic Training Centre, the Mobile Information Unit Programme and the Tribal Research Centre.

BRIEFLY...

Fifty delegates from Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom and United States were due to attend the Fourth SEATO Military Medical Committee Meeting to be held at SEATO's Bangkok headquarters from June 1-5.

Subjects down for discussion cover the whole spectrum of medicine, including the fields of environmental and public health, new developments in the prevention and treatment of tropical diseases, problems peculiar to particular localities in South-East Asia, and advances in medical knowledge resulting from research studies.

SEATO Medical Staff Officer Lt. Col. K.J. Fleming, whose work in the committee has been responsible for much of its success, leaves Bangkok later in June at the end of his three-year tour of duty. He has been succeeded by Surgeon-Commander G.A.R. Giri, R.N. (United Kingdom).

Other changes in the SEATO Military Planning Office:

Lt. Col. H.F. Frailey (US), Division Leader, Communications-Electronics Division, has been succeeded by Lt. Col. Clarence B. Blocker.

SGM James LeBlanc (US), Chief Clerk of the Secretariat, replaced by SGM Culvert B. Gales (US), who served with SEATO in 1966-68.

Master Sgt. R.E. Thomas, assistant to the US Military Adviser's Representative, has been posted to Blythvill Air Force Base Arkansas. His successor, Staff Sergeant J.W. Thomas, is from MACTHAI.

The assistant to the Thai Military Adviser's Representative, Staff Sergeant Payong Choocheep, posted back to Supreme Command Headquarters, has been replaced by Master Sergeant Jaran Nuchraksa.

Sergeant E.J. Rowland, RNZEME, who was Chief Clerk at Waiouru Workshops, has replaced Flight Sergeant A. Stowers-Hull, as Assistant to the New Zealand Military Adviser's Representative.

International staff changes:

Mr. M.A. Mansuri, of Pakistan, who has been SEATO Finance, Officer since November, 1966, has been appointed Director of Administration. He replaces Mr. Ralph Shaw (United Kingdom), who has concluded his two-year tour of duty with SEATO.

Mr. Paul Eckel, SEATO Special Assistant since June, 1966, has returned to the United States after recently completing his assignment with the Organization.

Miss Elizabeth Hadrill, of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, has taken over from Miss Marjorie Razzell (UK), in SEATO's Research Office.

MR. Wilford J. Kramer, a senior official in the United States Foreign Service, pictured (centre) on his arrival in Bangkok to assume the post of SEATO Director of Public Information. On hand to greet Mr. Kramer were Mr. Robert Hyslop (left), SEATO Deputy Secretary-General and Mr. Melvin Taylor, Deputy Director of Public Information.

Mr. Kramer held the post of Assistant Deputy Regional Director, US Information Agency in Vietnam, from 1968 until his present SEATO appointment. He returned to Washington recently from Saigon.

A graduate of the University of Illinois, Mr. Kramer served in the US Navy throughout the Second World War. He joined the US Department of State in 1952, after spending six post-war years as broadcaster and newspaperman. He has been responsible for carrying out US information programmes in various countries including Israel, Germany and Denmark.

Military surgeons' conference

● *Lieutenant Colonel K. J.A. Fleming, the SEATO Medical Staff Officer, was among the delegates from 18 nations who attended the First Conference of the World Association of Military Surgeons held in Quezon City, the Philippines, from May 4-11.*

Here is he seen (centre) during one of the sessions. On his right is Brigadier General E. Filart, a former surgeon General of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, who was Chairman of the Third SEATO Military Medical Committee Meeting held in Bangkok last June.

On your Bookshelf

Books added to the SEATO Library during March, included the following—

COATES, Austin. Rizal: Philippine Nationalist and martyr. Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1968. xi, 378p., illus. 920

EISENHOWER, Dwight D. Waging peace: the White House years 1956-1961. New York, Doubleday, 1965. xxiii, 741p., illus. 920

HINTON, Harold C. Communist China in world politics. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1966. xiii, 527p. 327.51

HUCK, Arthur. The Security of China: Chinese approaches to problems of war and strategy. London, Chatto & Windus, 1970. 93p. 951

HUTTON, J.H. The Sema Nagas. London, Oxford University Press, 1967. xviii, 467p., illus. 323.1914

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. A New foreign policy for the United States. New York, Praeger, 1969. xii, 252p. 327.73

NELSON, Raymond. The Philippines. London, Thames and Hudson, 1968. 191p., illus. 991.4

O'NEILL, Robert J. General Giap: politician and strategist, New York, Praeger, 1969. xi, 219p., illus. 920

ROMULO, Carlos P. Mission to Asia: the dialogue begins. Quezon City, Univ. of the Philippines, 1964. 133p., illus. 370.196

SEATO PUBLICATIONS

(The following publications may be obtained, on request, from the Public Information Office, SEATO Headquarter, P.O. Box 517, Bangkok, Thailand.)

SEATO Annual Report 1968-69 (English,)—by Lt. Gen. Jesus M. Vargas, Secretary-General of SEATO.

Story of SEATO (English, Thai) New Edition, 1969.
Information magazine on SEATO's Military and civil activities.

Manila Pact and Pacific Charter (revised 1968)
Texts of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the Pacific Charter, with explanatory notes.

Aspects of the History, Culture and Religions of Pakistan
Lectures by Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Karachi, as a travelling lecturer under the SEATO Cultural Programme.

Post-graduate Studies in Asian SEATO Countries
A guide for applicants for SEATO post-graduate scholarships.

Collective Security: Shield of Freedom (Revised, 1963)
The nature and scope of the various collective security pacts linking 41 nations of the Free World. Foreword by Mr. Pote Sarasin, former Secretary-General of SEATO. 165 pp.

Medical
Research into Disease—I (Revised): Cholera (Pakistan—SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory) in English and Thai.
Research into Disease—II: The Search for Health (SEATO medical projects in Thailand).
Research into Disease—III: Malaria (SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, Bangkok) in English and Thai.

Community Development
Report of the SEATO Seminar on Community Development, July 19-23, 1965. In English and Thai.

The Role of Youth in Asia
Report of the SEATO Seminar on 'Youth's Response to Challenges in Asia', Feb. 13-17, 1967.

Skilled Workers for the Armed Forces (English, Thai)
A description of the SEATO Military Technical Training School, Bangkok.

Training Workers for Developing Industries (English, Thai)
An account of the SEATO Skilled Labour Project in Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand.

Posters:
Better Communications for Better Living (English, Thai)
Skilled Hands for National Progress (English, Thai)
The Painter's View of his Country—I
Good Health Key to National Prosperity
Highway To Health (SEATO-Cholera Research Laboratory, Dacca).
A Helping Hand On The Land (SEATO Agricultural Research Project).

Communist Economic Subversion: A Reappraisal
by Dr. Hans Heymann Jr. A discussion of the growing Communist reliance on economic measures as tools of foreign policy.

Peking on Revolution
Extracts from speeches and articles on the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin indicating the demand for revolutionary uprising.

Defeating Communist Insurgency
by Sir Robert Thompson (Thai translation)

Radio Writers Handbook (English, Thai)
by Madeleine C. Meyer.

The Changing Face of Communism
A lecture in booklet form given at SEATO Headquarters by Douglas Hyde in May, 1968.

Security in Rural Areas
Two papers in booklet form presented by Douglas Hyde at a SEATO-sponsored seminar on internal security in rural areas held in Manila in May, 1968.

Buddhism in Thailand
By R. Bhavilai. A modern Thai's interpretation of Buddhism.

Printed by Sompong Chaicharoen at the Sompong Press Ltd. Part. 14/8 Pracharasdra Road, Bangkok, June 1970

A student at the Military Te
nical Training School, Bangkok
joint Australian-Thai project un
SEATO—tries his hand at weld